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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE INDUS CIVILISATION

(Circa 2700-1800 BC)

THE classical civilisation of India, as it was known at the beginning of this century from texts and monuments, was preceded by a brilliant prelude which began in the third millennium BC. Of this prelude present-day India can to some extent claim the heritage. Scholars were prepared for the resurrection of the Hittite world by references to these people in ancient texts; the cycle of myths about Minos preserved the memory of the grandeur of Crete. There were no such references to the Indus Valley. All memory of a civilisation prior to the coming of the Aryans had been lost until the trowels of the archaeologists revealed the cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in Sind and in the Panjab. Yet the material culture of this civilisation which was contemporary with those of Sumer and Akkad was in no way their inferior. The very lay-out of the two capitals, 375 miles apart, contrasts by its admirable planning with the confusion of ancient or modern oriental cities. The streets are laid out at right-angles, the houses have sanitary installations, sewers and bathrooms; public buildings are grouped to the west of the residential area and a special quarter is reserved for slaves, or at any rate for labourers in state employment.

The temples which the Mesopotamian archaeologist seeks so eagerly are missing in these cities. It is possible that a swimming-bath, the exact purpose of which is unknown, was intended for ritual bathing, if the practice of bathing at Mohenjo-daro, as in modern India, was one of the features of religious life. But there are numerous seals which give some indication of the spiritual life of the unknown people of Mohenjo-daro, though posing frustrating problems for the scholar. They are rectangular in shape and often have animals engraved upon them; they bear a short inscription in hieroglyphic script which still remains undeciphered. This script bears no resemblance to the pre-cuneiform ideograms of Mesopotamia.

The Indus civilisation produced works of art which are astonishing in their sense of modelling and movement. There are a number of pieces in the round in stone: a male torso from Harappa which must have had an articulated head and arms. There is a young girl in copper with slender limbs. The engravings on the seals reveal the skill with which these ancient artists captured animal forms: tigers, elephants, buffaloes, and, above all, humped cattle, so that one cannot but think that from this period onwards there were in India artists remarkable for their skill in portraying animals.

For this surprising civilisation, which from the lowest levels in the excavations is already fully developed, is already Indian in many respects although its origin remains a mystery and only certain features can be derived from the very simple peasant cultures which preceded it. Certain elements of the classical Indian civilisation are thought to derive from these very ancient times: the hump-backed bull, so frequent on the seals, is the mount of the god Siva whose most sacred

representation is the symbol in the form of a phallus known as the *linga*. The Mohenjo-daro excavations have produced these sexual symbols. Furthermore, one seal shows a figure with three faces and a horned head-dress, seated cross-legged with erect phallus and surrounded by animals. This is believed to be a form of Siva with three faces, the god of sexual potency, the supreme *yogi* and Lord of Beasts. Kali, the goddess associated with Siva, inherited many of the features characteristic of the archaic Great Mother. Numerous terracotta female figurines found during the excavation are believed to be early representations of this goddess, at once frightening and maternal.

The Indus civilisation was destroyed at its height by the incursion of peoples from the mountains of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The people of the highlands bordering on India fled to the plains under the pressure of invaders and the civilisation experienced a set-back which is reflected in the quality of its pottery; this becomes less perfect than it had been in the preceding centuries. This troubled period lasted for several centuries, until about the middle of the second millennium. Then new invaders appear, perhaps the same ones as those who had previously disturbed the equilibrium of the eastern extensions of the Iranian Plateau. But this time we know the name of the foreign bands which swooped down upon the Indus valley: they were the Aryans, who introduced into India a new religion and a whole new civilisation, as well as Sanskrit, a language which was to have a remarkable future.

ANCIENT INDIA

From the Vedic Period to Buddhism (15th-5th centuries BC)

No artistic remains survive from the period which began in 1500 BC and lasted for a thousand years. This is not to say that there was no art, but that only perishable materials were used—wood, and perhaps ivory—which have disappeared without trace in the hot and humid climate of India. But this period is no less important on this account even for those who are interested exclusively in art, for it is in the course of this millennium that there developed the Indian conception of the world, ways of life and thought which were to find their expression in later plastic forms.

Seen in perspective, this conception of the world springs from the Aryan impact upon the Indian setting: India, that immense sub-continent, peopled by such diverse races, by communities speaking such divergent languages, which had attained cultural levels differing so widely amongst themselves; the Aryans, at this early time known to us only from the four compilations of writings which Indian tradition holds to be sacred and of divine origin, known as the "Veda", "Knowledge". The oldest of the four Vedas is a compilation of religious hymns but it abounds with information which throws light upon Vedic society. The very language in which it is written, Sanskrit, that language of the gods, seems strangely familiar to us, both in its vocabulary and in its grammar. This hint alone would be sufficient to draw our attention to the fact that a few centuries before penetrating into India, the ancestors of the Vedic Aryans had been living in contact with the ancestors of the Greeks, the Celts, the Latins and the peoples who gave their language to Germania: in fact it may be said that all these peoples spoke dialects of the same unknown language which is named conventionally Common Indo-European. In the same way the religion and the social and juridical structure are similar to those of the Greeks and Romans in earliest times. But the civilisation of the Vedic Aryans diverged very soon from these common origins to evolve along wholly original lines, an evolution in which the Indian setting played its part.

From about 1000 BC there appear in the exegetical texts, known as the "Brahmanas", two innovations among others: the considerable importance attached to the ritual, and in the social field the adumbration of what was to become the caste system. The social hierarchy embodied

in the several classes of society was not only human but, one might almost say, metaphysical. The priests, the brahmans, occupied the highest place; the warriors and the Aryan artisans having access to the sacrifice followed next; finally the Sudras, who were excluded from religious rites, were relegated to the bottom of the social scale. For these Sudras were essentially indigenous peoples who practised different religions and whose concepts were in many respects opposed to those of the invaders. But little by little these practices and ideas were to penetrate into Brahmanism and thus the religion of the Aryans, as it was adopted by India, was to become Hinduism.

In the first half of the first millennium BC appear in the "Upanisads", the texts which constitute the last part of the Vedic writings, the "Vedanta", two fundamental notions which are intimately linked: transmigration and the law of action and reaction. Each of our actions carries with it re-action and bears fruit which will ripen either in our present existence or in a future one; death is simply the passage to a new existence, divine, human, animal, infernal or demoniac, its precise nature being determined exactly by our previous actions or, to use the Sanskrit term, by our "karman". Henceforth these two postulates, variously interpreted, were to govern all orthodox and heterodox religious thought in India, and the main hope of every Indian from this time onward was to achieve release from this cycle of rebirths and from the weight of sins of which he retained no recollection.

But the Upanisads reveal to us a secret which is that of the identity of the innermost Self of man, "atman", with the Absolute, the universal Being, the "brahman". This transcendental truth is based on quite a different system from that of experience, that illusory system in which transmigration and the law of action and re-action operate. It protects the man who has arrived at this truth from the operation of these laws and brings him deliverance.

Such was the state of religion in India in the 6th century BC when two great founders of religion made their appearance: the Buddha and the Jina.

The careers of Vardhamana, also called Mahavira, the Great Hero, or Jina, the Victorious, and of Sakyamuni, also called the Buddha, which means the Enlightened One, ran completely parallel and their doctrines show great similarity. But the cultural importance of Buddhism is incomparably greater than that of Jainism. The latter never extended beyond the frontiers of India, while Buddhism spread to large parts of Asia and radiated as far as China and Japan, introducing premises it has in common with all Indian religious thought, many of the aspects of the civilisation of India and in particular Buddhist art.

In reaction to metaphysical Brahmanism, Buddhism claims to be strictly practical. The Buddha recognises that there is nothing but suffering on earth and he wishes only to be the physician who is called in to cure this universal sorrow. The remedy is the extinction of desire, which is the origin of life and of suffering: through progressive detachment man can raise himself, from one existence to another, to sainthood which ultimately leads to Nirvana. Although this doctrine appears to embody supreme egotism, it brings with it from its very origin some compensation for this individual isolation of exclusive responsibility; it brings the sense of universal solidarity. The suffering which binds us, also links us with all other beings. This is the origin of that sublime paradox of the way of detachment which enjoins, as a prerequisite, compassion, carried to the point of charity and love.

The intellectual ideal of Buddhism is monasticism, but since communal life cannot suit everybody, Buddhist society is divided: beside the monks who devote themselves to holiness, the lay people merely apply common sense; they ensure the material existence of the community. For them, even more than for the monks, Buddhism is essentially a religion of devotion and worship, called *bhakti* and *puja* in India; it is the origin of the cult of relics and of the veneration of material remains connected with the life of the Blessed One. In this lies the origin of Buddhist art.

The Maurya, Sunga, and Kanva Dynasties (4th-1st centuries BC)

We have now arrived at the period when the Achaemenid rulers of Persia have established their suzerainty in the north-western provinces of India. Through the glorious Iranian empire, India plays a role in the history of the world: Indian contingents fought together with the armies of the Great King in the Median wars. This occupation of north-west India by the Achaemenids was also reflected in the arts.

In the 4th century Alexander of Macedon set himself up as the successor of the Achaemenids, in his turn conquered the Indus valley, but subsequently died on his way back. The Aryan civilisation was in the process of a slow penetration of the Deccan. A number of states, kingdoms or tribal republics divided power among themselves in the Ganges valley, the region in which the Buddha and the Jina were gathering ever more converts. After being dormant for centuries, art now burst forth in India. A few specimens of an archaic style, represented specifically by charming terracotta figurines, mostly of animals, may date from this period. But it was Buddhism which was to give the decisive impulse to Indian art and to be almost its sole source of inspiration while it flourished for more than seven centuries.

Although Buddhism was founded by a Nepalese, it centred in the Ganges region of India, called Maghada. Political circumstances favoured its growth for it was Candragupta, the ruler of this same Maghada and the founder of the Mauryan dynasty who led the movement of revolt in India against the Greek occupation and who profited from this exploit to establish his suzerainty over a substantial area of Northern India. A Greek who lived at his court in Pataliputra informs us with great precision about the India of this time and describes in particular detail the capital and the royal residence, some vestiges of which have been revealed to us by excavations. One of the halls of the palace is reminiscent of the Persian *apadana*, the first evidence of Achaemenid influence on Indian art.

Asoka was the greatest of the Mauryan rulers. Buddhist writers appear to have gone to some trouble to represent the beginning of his career in an unfavourable light, but after this period Asoka was converted and henceforth he was basically preoccupied with the protection of the law, *Dharma*. He had edicts which enjoin gentleness and patience, in conformity with the Buddhist ideal, engraved on natural rocks and on stone columns, although it is impossible to point to any direct propaganda in any of these precepts.

The shafts of these columns are executed magnificently; they are crowned with capitals in which the Achaemenid influence comes into contact with a much livelier tradition of animal portrayal, free from excessive formalism.

Buddhism was at its most vigorous during Asoka's reign. He contributed to this by sending missions to distant places, in particular to Ceylon, that future stronghold of Buddhism. A prodigious future, both temporal and spiritual, begins at this time for the small sect in the Ganges region of India.

It would nevertheless be unfair to ignore Brahmanism, which shows an intensity at least equal to that of Buddhism even though it is less well documented. Following upon the "revealed texts", the Vedas, Brahmanas and Upanisads, the canonical literature of Brahmanism developed the "traditional texts", scientific and grammatical writings, which are directly connected with sacrificial practices, and juridical treatises. The final stage, mythical and epic poetry, was already flourishing: it was to give rise to the two great Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, which were undoubtedly composed in their present form in the Gupta era (4th century AD), and the Puranas, of which the existing versions date from not before the 6th century.

The two epics, reviewed and amplified since by the brahman caste, are regarded as religious texts, and their heroes—Krsna, the divine charioteer of the *Mahabharata*, and Rama, the virtuous prince of the *Ramayana*—are incarnations of the god Visnu. It is not surprising that episodes from the epics have served as the themes for visual art. The *Mahabharata* is the story of the war of two Aryan tribes for some trivial reason; but the hundred thousand stanzas, which were

composed during the Gupta era, present us with a story which contains ten times as little. The proportions of the *Ramayana* are much more modest, it is more poetical and more ornate; it contains the story of the abduction of Sita and exalts heroism as well as more gentle human virtues.

A slow evolution in religion manifests itself in these works which were originally intended for the warrior caste. As in the recent Upanisads, new divine personalities appear who become the objects of pious devotion. Hinduism evolves gradually, doubtless from the period of Asoka onward, but it does not reach its full height especially in art until post-Gupta times.

Shortly after Asoka's death, the Ganges area loses its political importance and the region which extends from the middle Ganges to the north-west of the Deccan enters history. In this province, called Malwa, with its capital Ujjain, one of the main centres of India, the Sunga and Kanva dynasties succeeded one another in the last centuries before the beginning of our era. The earliest Buddhist monuments, sanctuaries cut out in the rock, and stupas, date from this time. The stupa is the Buddhist monument *par excellence*. Serving frequently as a reliquary, it is always commemorative of the death, the entering of Absolute Nirvana, of the Buddha. The stupa consists basically of a plain edifice, originally hemispherical, but which has changed in shape through the centuries, standing on a platform. In ancient times an enclosure wall with gates opening to the four cardinal points marked an ambulatory. The most widely spread rite in India for honouring a place, a person, a statue or any kind of object, consists of walking around it, keeping it to one's right hand side, and here this rite dictates the architectural lay-out.

The oldest decorated stupas which have reached us are those of Bharhut and Bodh-Gaya, which were erected on the places where the Buddha attained Enlightenment, and of Sanchi, in Malwa. They belong to the middle of the second century BC.

The stupa itself consists of an enormous, solid brick dome which may originally have been dressed although all traces of such dressing have disappeared. By contrast, the gates and railings which enclose the circumambulatory and which reproduce in stone an older, wooden architecture, are richly decorated. The oldest specimens of this decoration are the carved pillars of the railing from Bharhut, where the artist, lacking confidence in his skill, completed the representations of episodes of the life of the Buddha by adding inscriptions. From the beginning this sculpture is highly symbolic. Just as the stupa evokes the idea of the entry of the Buddha into Nirvana, the supreme mystery of Buddhism and in some sense the practical proof of the existence of Nirvana, a tree is enough to recall the Enlightenment; a wheel represents the Buddha's first sermon at "Banaras, where the Master set in motion the Wheel of the Law"; a lotus-vase, symbol of purity, stands for the Buddha's conception in the womb of Queen Maya. The peak of this first period of Buddhist art was reached with the gateways of the great stupa at Sanchi which are entirely covered with bas-reliefs illustrating scenes of the Buddhist legend or of the previous lives of the Buddha.

To relieve the somewhat wearysome monotony of sermons, the Buddhist preacher drew for illustrations upon an old treasury of popular stories, especially animal stories which were incorporated into the Buddhist legend by a very simple procedure: the hero of these stories is considered as a previous incarnation of the Buddha. These stories are known as "Jatakas", a word which means (previous) birth. The spirit of the Sanchi reliefs is identical with that of the Golden Legend. There is manifest an evident joy, a naive zest, free from all anguish, a youthful naturalism and also, in spite of all the technical difficulties, an extraordinary skill both in narrative and in the evocation of crowded towns, armies in battle or animals in the jungle. The old sculptors of Sanchi were remarkable in their treatment of animal figures and they already excelled in the translation into stone of the lithe purity of the female form.

Monastic architecture also began to develop in this period. It was then that the technique began to appear which gave rise to masterpieces in India, even if it is probably of Persian origin, a technique which consisted of cutting out sanctuaries and monasteries in the rock. The monasteries, or *viharas*, contain a communal hall of square plan on to which the cells of the monks

open. The sanctuaries, or *caityas*, of which the façade is dominated by a great horse-shoe arch, have a barrel vault roof and a basilical plan: a row of pillars is contrived on either side of the nave; at the end of the nave there is a small stupa, often known by the Sinhalese name of dagaba, around which there is an apse to allow for the rite of circumambulation.

This first period of Buddhist art, whence the whole spirit of Indian plastic art directly springs, was not to develop for long without receiving its quota of foreign influences: serious upheavals were already transforming north-west India and the Afghan borderlands. It was the beginning of a troubled period, one of confusion, but one by which India was to be enriched.

The Time of the Barbarians (1st century BC-4th century AD)

The Greeks, who had been driven from India by Candragupta and had settled in Bactria, in present-day Afghanistan, had already in Asokas' lifetime been separated from the Greek homeland by the Parthian revolt which had established Persia as an independent state. This Bactrian kingdom, isolated in the heart of Asia, gave rise to a prodigious adventure: it was thanks to this that works of art which derived ultimately from Greek originals were to spread as far as Japan and Indonesia.

The Bactrian dynasties appear to have been conscious of their double role in history, representing Greek civilisation on the outskirts of the known world and co-operating with the settled Parthians to confine the waves of nomad invaders. We know little about their history, but we know their names and their faces from the very fine coins which show us the faces of such men as Diodotus, Euthydemus, or Demetrius, sometimes wearing helmets in the shape of an elephant's head.

Hemmed in on the west, the rulers of Bactria directed their ambitious schemes towards India. Even before the art of Sanchi developed in Malwa, the Greeks re-occupied Indian territory and there is a famous text which presents us with a Greek king in the Panjab, called Menander, arguing with a Buddhist monk, as well as giving indications of mutual interest and of an early meeting of the two cultures, which precedes by two centuries the rise of Graeco-Buddhist art. This text provides but scant testimony of exchanges, in science and literature as well as in art, which were, in fact, numerous.

The collapse of Bactrian power in the beginning of the first century before our era, threw the gates of India wide open to a wave of invading barbarians. The origin of the peoples who then poured into north-west India is somewhat confused and uncertain: nomad Iranians, Scythians and Parthians, known jointly by the Sanskrit composite name Saka-Pahlava, were followed by other peoples speaking Indo-European languages, the Yueh-chih who came from the confines of China and who were led by the tribe of the Kusanas.

The most important of the Parthian kings was none other than the Magian king Gaspard, the Gudnaphar of the Acts of Saint Thomas, which gives a hint of the religious ferment in the Middle East in the beginning of the Christian era.

The Scythians carved themselves out principalities in India and modestly assumed the Greek title *strategos*, or the Persian *satrap*. When the Yueh-chih forced them to retreat, they settled in Malwa, the ancient territory of the Sunga-Kanva dynasties, and on the coasts of the Gulf of Cambay where ships from Egypt visited the ports, and they maintained themselves until about the year 400; they were known as the *Mahakshatrapas* or "Great Satraps".

The most famous of the kings of the Yueh-chih was the Kusana ruler, Kaniska. His statues show him as a warrior dressed in a thick, stiff cloak with his heavy sword hanging from a leather sword-belt and with spurs on his boots. This barbarian took good care not to forget the world of the steppes with its transit trade between the Levant, China and India, and he attracted princes from central Asia to his court in his efforts to continue to exercise his influence on the states scattered along the Silk Route. But he was also a great Buddhist and he was

wise enough to appoint as his minister a man of almost universal genius; philosopher, poet, musician as well as politician, Asvaghosa was also a most ardent promoter of the ideal which opened new spritual perspectives to Buddhisim.

For in all fields, even in religious matters, India succeeded in enriching herself from her contacts with these invaders who, with the facility of nomads, had in a few years sufficiently assimilated Greek and Indian culture to put themselves at the head of this cultural movement. It was their honour, or, more exactly, that of the Saka-Pahlavas, to transmit to India that most precious heritage of Hellenism, for, paradoxically, Graeco-Buddhist art, that Hellenistic creation of Buddhist inspiration, flourished in north-west India and Afghanistan only after the disappearance of Greek political power. The Scythians who had settled in Malwa, on the other hand, had become perfectly Indianised and founded rock sanctuaries in the Northern Ghats and became the protagonists of Sanskrit culture. Their capital Ujjain was the most brilliant scientific and literary centre of India and was to become the home town of the greatest Indian poet, Kalidasa.

But the movements of people also introduced new religious aspirations into India. Iranian and Judeo-Christian Messianism engendered a new evolution within Buddhism which resulted in the conception of a new Way, of a new "Vehicle" of salvation. Discarding the old belief in a strictly personal responsibility, the adherents of the new faith believed in the transference of merits, and they sacrificed their own merits to the salvation of all creation. Thus they followed the example of the Bodhisattvas who, when they have arrived on the highest spiritual level of the road of transmigration, devote all their energy to doing good and receive their worshippers in ineffable paradises. Nevertheless the devotion of the faithful is directed by preference to those enlightened beings who occupy an important place in the iconography: M. Frédéric presents us with several figures of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (whose name cannot fail to remind us of that of the Iranian Mithras), which come from Mathura, one of the first centres of the Great Vehicle.

Although foreign influences came to the Deccan already sifted and assimilated to the Indian heritage, this area nevertheless enjoyed an equally varied and rich cultural life.

It is already possible to speak of the extreme south, where Tamil was spoken; the Tamil country, where an idyllic and warlike literature was developing, which is in fact undatable but to which tradition attributes a fabulously early date of origin. The ports on the Coromandel coast maintained commercial exchanges with the Roman western world. Today archaeologists have recovered important trading stations side by side with the vestiges of the enigmatic indigenous culture which preceded the penetration of the brahman culture, a penetration which has nevertheless never curbed the powerful originality of the Tamils.

Further to the north the state of Andhra stretched from the lower course of the Krsna in the Western Ghats, across the Telugu country, where, as in the Tamil country, a Dravidian language was spoken, although it was already more thoroughly Aryanised. In contrast with the Great Satraps who favoured Sanskrit, their neighbours and rivals, the rulers of Andhra, remained faithful to Prakrit, and the masterpiece of Prakrit poetry, the *Seven Hundred Stanzas*, often so charming, is attributed to Hala, who was one of them. Gunadhya, the minister of another of these kings, is believed to be the author of *The Great Recital*, that lost treasury of semi-mythical Indian stories. Many poets drew from this source and then the stories were refashioned by Kashmiri authors. And we know how popular in the Middle Ages were the Indian stories which were first translated into Pahlavi and Arabic before they arrived by often untraceable routes to stimulate the story-tellers of Europe.

Andhra is also interesting on another account: the literary centre of the kingdom is found round the capital, Pratisthana, in the highlands, but the region around Amaravati, on the lower Krsna, played a decisive role in the evolution of Buddhism. It was in fact in Amaravati that a philosophy of Buddhism was created, a religion which was in principle so hostile to all ontologies. In the Buddhism "of the Middle Way", the asceticism aimed at detachment is

completed by an intellectual asceticism and its most fruitful thinker, Nagarjuna, uses all the minutiae of an unrelenting dialectic in order to elaborate a critique of knowledge. His apparent nihilism conceals profound mystical aspirations, and the concept of the Perfection of Wisdom which now appears is later absorbed by the Great Vehicle and, as it were, deified. This was to be honoured with interpretations in visual art, especially in Cambodia and Java.

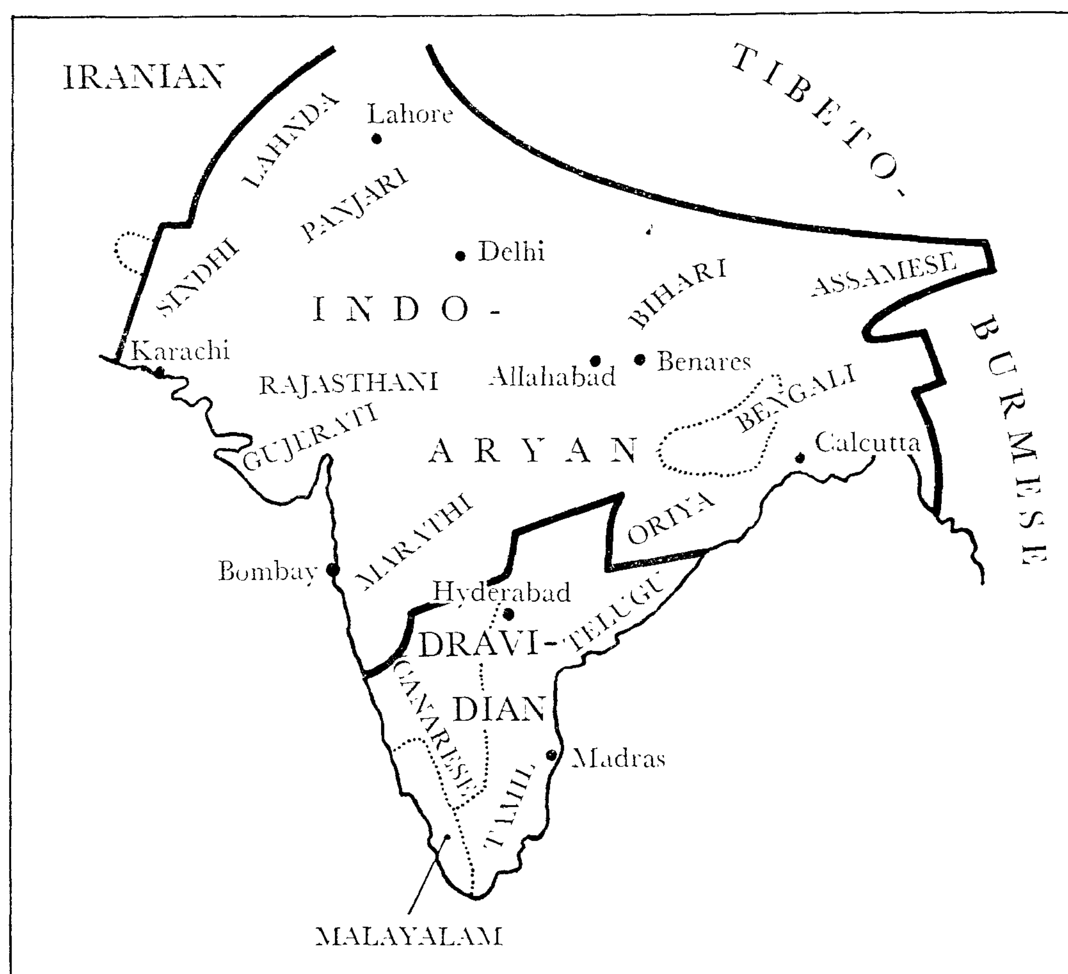


FIG. 1. THE LANGUAGES OF MODERN INDIA

CLASSICAL INDIA

The Imperial Guptas (320-550)

Indian civilisation at the beginning of the 4th century possessed all the attributes, in all fields, including that of the sciences, which permit us to qualify the century and a half during which the Gupta emperors were reigning, as classical.

The Gupta dynasty originated like that of the Mauryas in Magadha and another Candragupta confirmed the beginning of its greatness by founding a new era in 320. But it was his son Samudragupta who restored the unity of India. A long panegyric, exalting the victories of this very great king is engraved on an Asokan column at Prayaga, the Allahabad of our time, the religious centre of India on the confluence of the Ganges, the Jamna and the mythical—and invisible—Sarasvati. Far from despising the arts, Samudragupta, himself a refined man of letters and, it

appears, a remarkable musician, put an end to the extreme political fragmentation of India. He brought most of the states in Hindustan directly under his rule and had a military road built across the Deccan. Such diverse sovereigns as the successor of the Kusans in north-west India, the satrap of Ujjain and the king of Ceylon recognised at least his hegemony, if not his suzerainty.

The great glory of Vikramaditya, the successor of Samudragupta, was the addition of the possessions of the Great Satraps and their fabulous capital Ujjain to the Gupta empire. This was the apogee of the dynasty. During the reign of the next ruler, Kumaragupta, an as yet distant threat appeared. The Hephtalites, erroneously called the Huns (Huna in Sanskrit), having invaded the territory of the Sassanids, had arrived at the gateways of India. With his courage and feeling for organisation Skandagupta, the son of Kumaragupta, could for some time avert the hordes; but the shock had upset the empire and the quarrels of succession precipitated its weakening. The Hephtalites repeated their attacks at the end of the 5th century and this time the blaze of the Gupta dynasty, as brilliant as it was short, was stifled by this scourge.

This golden age is nevertheless conceived of as a symbol, and all the greatest achievements of India are proudly collected around it. The great prestige of India is in fact confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims who came to visit the places where the Buddha had lived and to study at the feet of the masters of Indian Buddhism. One of these pilgrims, Fa-hsien, marvelled at the prosperity of India, the purity of her morals, the freedom which prevailed, the lenience of her judges, and the number and organisation of the charitable foundations.

If we are to believe them, the principles of Buddhism had profoundly impregnated social and cultural life. Hinduism nevertheless continued, impervious to the course of history. The Gupta emperors themselves were Vaisnavites and Samudragupta fell back on Vedic tradition by celebrating the horse sacrifice, a long and costly ceremony. Hindu speculation developed into six "systems", or rather six "points of view", which ranged from the exegesis of the ritual to the monism based upon the Upanisads (Vedanta) encompassing materialism, atomism and an adaptation of the ancient dualism of Nature and Spirit, including Yoga, which justifies its psycho-physiological techniques by semi-philosophical, semi-scientific speculation.

But it is true that Buddhism remained preponderant in philosophy as well as in art and one may justly wonder whether the composition of the doctrinal texts of Hinduism was not dictated by the need to oppose Buddhist thought with a sufficiently reasoned and coherent philosophical system of defence.

The Lesser Vehicle reached its peak under the first Guptas but subsequently lost its prestige. The dominant sect of the 4th century admitted the objective existence of sense perception, that is to say, the reality of the world. It influenced even the Buddhism of the "Ancient" which accepted only that which can be verified: the relations between a subject and an equally inaccessible object, that is to say, the only *states* of the conscious mind which are determined by one's *karman*. But the Great Vehicle soon triumphed. Two great scholars, Vasubandhu and Asanga, preached a pure idealism with mystical tendencies: the subject and the object are also for them, relative; there exists only the universal conscious mind, universal thought, present in the deepest strata of the individual mind.

These indications are not sufficient to give more than a vague impression of the different systems; they may perhaps give an idea of the fruitful subtlety which Buddhism had attained and of the profundity of its view of life.

The artistic sensibility, as it is transmitted to us through literary and visual media, is as delicate and profound as the philosophy. Curiosity asserts itself in all the activities of the mind: the pursuit of science is as passionate as that of art in this epoch; mathematicians are also poets, and great thinkers like Varahamihira demonstrate an apparently universal interest and compose treatises in the different disciplines. The sovereigns encouraged this intellectual effervescence and their personal activity was certainly considerable.

By the beginning of the reign of the Guptas the two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, had been completed. The last alterations made to the *Mahabharata* burden the work but do not change its structure. The *Mamayana* already showed a refinement foreign to the *Mahabharata* and India recognised it as a kavya, a "poem". Epic poetry took on a new character under the Guptas: its inspiration derived from mythology and it became above all else lyrical. We owe the most perfect examples of this ostentatious lyrical poetry to Kalidasa, the author of several plays, notably of *Sakuntala*. This play has become known to the European public through numerous adaptations and translations, and is accepted, since Goethe's flattering judgment, as the most famous example of Indian drama.

The treatises on aesthetics lay down the aims the poets set themselves: not to excite curiosity by means of a well constructed plot, but to captivate the sensibility, to flavour it with emotive essences (*rasa*), to impregnate it with "savours", which are listed by the theoreticians. And on the stage the production, acting, music and dancing supplement the poetry.

Its artistic products express with peculiar accuracy the characteristics of the Gupta period: harmony, purity, equilibrium of inclinations. Their refinement does not degenerate into artificiality and their elegance eschews the finicky. Their artifice in no way sterilises the creative faculties; their great inventiveness succeeds in endlessly changing the themes and manifests itself in the rapid evolution of style.

And yet, so much has been lost that bore witness to this greatness. All secular art, including movable paintings to which literature alludes so frequently as well as music and dance, are only known to us indirectly.

Artistic inspiration is still essentially Buddhist but, in contrast with what we noted in the preceding centuries, regional differences now disappear. The statues of the Buddha in the round which came especially from the two centres of Mathura and Sarnath, are characterised by the peaceful expression of the face with its half-closed eyes, the elegance of the sculpture, the beauty of the huge, decorated halo and the thinness of the drapery. But the works from Mathura still preserve some of the force of the Kusan period and contrast with those from Sarnath which are slim and veiled in incorporeal muslin. The fulness of the nude female figures is tempered with an unaffected grace; the bodies are opulent without being heavy and undulate in the triple bend (*tribhanga*) like a supple plant.

The most remarkable works of art of this period are undoubtedly the frescoes. (Unfortunately the scope of this book is such as to preclude the extended discussion these frescoes demand). Their designs are simple and pure and their composition is more skilful than that of the reliefs; the frescoes of Ajanta offer to those who know how to look at them a calm synthesis of the deep-seated qualities of the Indian mind.

The stupa (Mirpur Khas in Sind and Sarnath) is still decorated, but by this time only the decoration of the main body of the stupa is interesting. It often contains numerous Buddha statues in horse-shoe shaped niches (*kudu*), a method also used in the decoration of the later stupa of Nalanda in Bengal.

At this time a revolution of technique takes place in architecture: monuments cut out of the rock are gradually yielding to structural architecture. The old techniques of carving sanctuaries (*caityas*) and monasteries (*viharas*) from the rock nevertheless produced its greatest achievements in the 5th century. The site of Ajanta, with its rock face dominating a wide circle at the end of a narrow valley, is justly famous. Its oldest caves were cut out towards the 1st century BC and were already decorated with frescoes (cave 10). It is possible to follow a remarkable continuity of development in the decoration; this enabled Monsieur Stern to trace the evolution of Gupta architecture. A relative chronology of post-Gupta monuments could likewise be established by a detailed study of the nearby site of Ellora.

This example raises the question of the methods used by the art historian to establish the chronology of the undated monuments. The visitor who walks around the whole circular complex as far as cave 26, passing by all the other caves, is left with the impression of great variety but

also of great confusion. The caves differ in their ground plan, some of them being sancturaries, others again monasteries; they vary in size and above all in decoration. Their art could hardly be more primitive. The columns (without, one may note, any structural function in such an excavated monument) are most rudimentary: simple octagonal shafts between a square base and a square abacus. Elsewhere one has the sensation of being in a forest of columns. Other caves, however, are decorated elegantly and with a richness of variety and give the impression of a harmonious whole, although upon closer examination it appears that this very variety of the viharas 1, 2 and 4, is misleading if one is unacquainted with the hierarchic principle which assigns the most beautiful columns to the most sacred places, in the proximity of and inside the axis of the sanctuary.

Close study reveals the origin of this classical type of column; it is the end result of a slow evolution of which the intermediate phases are represented in the vihara in the central part of the complex. This allows us to classify these monasteries in a chronological order. The shaft is the subsequently enriched version of the archaic, octagonal column. The capital is the result of a fusion of two experiments in previous centuries in which the artists tried to improve on the old column but hesitated between several solutions; this resulted in the ribbed turban and an entablature, which was borrowed from wood architecture; both are often carved with flying figures whose diverging and ascending movements are adapted to the form and position of the column.

Once the relative chronology of a site like that of Ajanta has been established, it provides a catalogue of indices which makes it possible to relate other caves or constructed temples to this chronological scale with a degree of precision and probability in proportion to the amount of ornamentation.

For besides these rock-cut monuments and the wooden architecture which, as before, is known from the reliefs and frescoes, there now appear buildings constructed from stone or brick. These show very different styles and it has been suggested that they are the stray efforts of architects in search of new solutions. The little temple no. 17 at Sanchi consists of a simple cella with a columned porch; it can be dated no more exactly than at the beginning of the Gupta era. The most famous temples of this period are those of Bhumara and of Deogarh which exhibit beautiful examples of Gupta relief work, and also some of the square-plan temples of central India. Some other rectangular temples give the appearance on the outside of a broken cradle.

The construction of the roof was the basic architectonic problem and this continued to influence the general trend of medieval temple building. Pre-Muslim India did not know the true vault which was, on the other hand, used in Iran and in China, but made use of what is —wrongly—called the corbelled vault: each layer of stones projects from the one underneath it, thus progressively reducing the area to be covered. A notable development can be seen in the shape of the roof of the temple of Sirpur which already has the shape of a pomegranate, the form of the medieval sikhara.

It must be understood that this is not even a precis of Monsieur Stern's work. Each detail requires a similar study and the different observations begin to confirm one another. The decoration of the shafts of the columns and that of the abacus, the entablatures, the miniature windows, known as kudus, all these require examination. This is not the place to enter into the minutiae of such research, for the archaeologist undertakes a veritable artistic entomology; but it seems appropriate to give some indication of the methods employed.

The Post-Gupta Period (550-750)

The Hephtalite occupation, which penetrated as far as Malwa, lasted for only half a century, but it was a half-century full of suffering. Mihirakula, in particular, who pushed one incursion

as far as Maghada, was a relentless and cruel enemy who caused much hardship amongst the Buddhists. The frequency of crime and destruction caused a movement of revolt among the Rajahs and the people. The efforts of several princes succeeded in destroying Hephtalite power but they were unable to drive off all the invaders, some of which became Indianised and settled on Indian soil.

It appears that this storm passed over India without interrupting the course of her civilisation; but this tragic episode in the history of India nevertheless marks a period of transition. Particularly in art there is no break between the Gupta style and the products of the following two centuries: we find the same techniques, the same patterns of ornamentation, the same quality in plastic art. Thus, art historians call this period which is so reminiscent of that of the Guptas in so many of its characteristics, the "post-Gupta" period, even though, from the historian's point of view, the Middle Ages had already begun in India. And yet, there are scarcely noticeable, gradual changes of outlook in the works of art.

In the period following the invasions of the Hephtalites, the political greatness of the Guptas appears to recover again, but by this time two dynasties in the Deccan, the Calukyas in Maharastra and the Pallavas in the Tamil country, compete successfully with the enterprises of the sovereigns of Hindustan.

The last Guptas were unable to impose their rule beyond a relatively limited area. Owing to favourable circumstances, Harsa, a prince of the house of Thanesar, succeeded in establishing his authority in most parts of northern India and made Kanauj into a great capital city.

Through the writings of Harsa's historiographer Bana and of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-ts'ang whom he honoured with his friendship, we are particularly well informed about his reign, which restored the civilisation of the India of Candragupta II in all its splendour. Bana writes interesting and relatively simple prose; Harsa himself was not above writing plays, of which the *Joy of the Naga Serpents* is one of the most curious in Indian dramatic literature. Hsuan-ts'ang travelled through India in all directions, worked for five years at the Buddhist university of Nalanda, in Bengal, and may, like Vasubandhu and Asanga, be regarded as one of the most eminent scholars of idealist Buddhism. Although Chinese, his training was Indian and in India he met teachers and rivals who were his equals.

During Harsa's long reign of 35 years the splendour of the Guptas seemed to be re-established. But soon after his death India relapsed into a period of fragmentation, favoured, if not actually caused, by foreign invasions. From this time onward, until the completion of the Muslim conquests, India forms a mosaic of states with fluctuating frontiers, a tangle of dynasties, sometimes independent, sometimes one another's vassals. A few great names of sovereigns or dynasties emerge from this confusion. Only the slightly isolated areas (like Kashmir, or Kathiawar) or those further distant from the western frontiers (like Bengal), enjoy a more stable period.

The knightly, turbulent Rajputs must be placed in the first ranks of the elements which contributed to the shape of medieval India. The Rajputs may have been the descendents of the Scythians, or other "barbarians"; but they had been completely Indianised and had inherited the tradition of the military caste, and in the face of the Muslim peril they constituted the most combative element of the Indian population.

In spite of feudal fragmentation, the prestige of the imperial idea survived; Kanauj figures as the capital of Hindustan and around 730, less than a century after Harsa's death, one of its sovereigns, Yasovarman, re-established for a few years an embryonic empire. This conqueror was, like Harsa, a poet and a brilliant Maecenas: he protected Bhavabuti, one of the greatest Indian dramatists. But an incursion by the king of Kashmir put an end to this endeavour and it was only a century later that the enterprises of a Rajput clan restored the greatness of Kanauj.

The situation in the Deccan is less confused than in the north. The big coalitions survived the vicissitudes of troubled times almost until the completion of the Muslim conquest.

In the Deccan, as was mentioned before, Dravidian languages are spoken: Telugu in the

east, in Telingana, on the lower courses of the Godavari and of the Krsna; Canarese in the west; and, finally, in the south-west, Tamil, with a literature claimed to be of great antiquity and which has, in addition to martial and idyllic songs, contributed to world literature a collection of verse, called the *Tirukkural,* a masterpiece of gnomic literature.

In the north-east and north-west of the Deccan, Aryan influence moved along the coasts and the established languages were ousted by dialects derived from Sanskrit.

In the west, northern influence infiltrated through Maharastra as far south as the Canarese region. This area is particularly important in the history of art, with the sites of Ajanta, Aurangabad and Ellora situated in Maharastra, as well as the older sites of Nasik, Kanheri, Karli and Bhaja. Under the Calukya and Rastrakuta dynasties this area formed part of a vast empire with its political centre in the Canarese region, near Badami, Aihole and Pattadakal.

In the east the intermediary region of Orissa, the counterpart of Maharastra, forms an extension of Bengal to the south. Its political history is particularly confused and of little importance, but there are two great religious centres in this area: Bhubanesar, dating from the 7th to the 11th centuries and rich in monuments, and Puri, which has become fashionable more recently and is infinitely less interesting for the art student.

South of Orissa the Telugu country stretched around Amaravati, the centre of intermediate Buddhism. For some time a younger branch of the Calukya family, the Calukyas of Vengi, reigned here.

The Tamil country, south-east of the Deccan, is traditionally divided into three kingdoms, Kerala, Cola, Pandya, and it is in this area that Dravidian traditions have been preserved in their purest state. From the time of Samudragupta onwards the hegemony was in the hands of the Pallava dynasty which the Colas were unable to supersede until the 10th century. Broadly speaking the Calukyas and the Pallavas were the two great powers of the Deccan and they fought each other in numerous wars. The vicissitudes of this period are not worth recording but the names of at least two of Harsa's contemporaries must be mentioned: they were Pulakesin II, whose kingdom Hiun-ts'ang visited, and Mahamalla, the founder of the religious city of Mamallapuram, near Pondicherry.

At the beginning of the Middle Ages we witness a rapid development of structural architecture in these states. The destructions perpetrated by the Muslims leave us in ignorance of the role Hindustan played in this development. Apart from abortive efforts like the Durga temple, so original with its apse and its circumambulation gallery, a continuous progress in the temples of Badami and Aihole, in the Canarese country, makes it possible to trace the contemporary construction of two types of temples: the one characterised by a roof in the form of a pomegranate, called sikhara (Durga temple, Huccimalli Gudi), the other by a storied roof, the stories being separated and supported by miniature representations of temples (Kont Gudi).

The Pallava rulers were also great builders, although the contribution of their architects was perhaps rather inferior to that of their rivals in the west of the Deccan. But if the second type of temple was the only one they knew, they certainly seem to have been its inventors.

The most representative works of the art of the early Pallavas are found at Mamallapuram, the city the Pallava ruler Mahamalla had founded on the coast. Huge rocks, carved in the form of little chapels and called *ratha* (chariot) on account of their resemblance to processional chariots, present samples of very different building techniques and we find among them the simplest and oldest types of roof, with receding stories carrying plain little models of buildings. On the same site a colossal rock sculpture represents the descent to earth, amid the veneration and joy of all creation, of the Ganges, formerly a river in heaven.

The rathas establish a link between rock architecture and structural architecture. Not content with cutting caves into the rock, the craftsman now cuts away and carves the rocks on the outside of the temple as, for instance, later on, the astonishing Kailasanatha of Ellora. The temple is imbued with a new symbolism which is then developed more and more; the temple is no longer inside the mountain: it is itself the mountain—Mount Meru or Mount Kailasa,

the cosmic pillar, the taxis and support of the universe. But this did not mean the end of cave architecture. From the middle of the 6th to the 11th century Hindus and Jains hollowed out sanctuaries side by side on the site of Ellora, not far from Ajanta. Although the decoration is not as polished nor as pure as that of the preceding period, it becomes more luxurious; new types of columns appear; vase-topped columns, already used in the last caves of Ajanta, and columns with heavy turbans, as at Dumarlena (at Ellora) and on the island of Elephanta, near Bombay.

Nevertheless the sanctuaries dedicated to the gods of Hinduism are the most interesting ones; they are decorated with numerous reliefs which exalt the power and majesty of these gods. Buddhism, which had until now played the leading part in art, moves to the background and the isolated pieces of sculpture of which the north provides some examples, yield in importance to monumental sculpture. The style of the Buddha statues which the workshop of Sarnath continued to produce retains the Gupta style but makes it slightly harsher, and the body now leans against a halo in the shape of a stele which replaces the former circular aureole. But at Ellora and at Mamallapuram new styles are created which, sometimes with greater majesty, sometimes with greater warmth, marvellously convey the spirit of the great cosmic myths of Hinduism.

A peak had in fact been passed: Buddhism had been profoundly shaken by the blows inflicted by the Hephtalites. Hsuan-ts'ang notes this sadly: the deserted monasteries with grass invading the courtyards: memories of pillaging and of atrocious massacres everywhere. Jainism, always prosperous, undoubtedly gained from the decline of Buddhism. The majority of the population, on the other hand, lost interest in Brahmanical ritualism.

The faithful directed their pious devotion to new divinities which had appeared in the epics and in the recent Upanisads: Visnu and Siva, the heirs of relatively secondary Vedic gods and, far more, of a complicated and powerful mass of autochthonous tradition. Hoping to acquire merit the people crowded to holy places where sacredness was somehow centred, and which vigorously implanted Hinduism on the very soil of India. These places are at the same time artistic and religious centres—they are crucibles in which all tendencies, sometimes most paradoxically opposed, fuse together and, finally converging, emerge as an infinitely diverse unity; they are where the spirit of medieval India, of the whole of India, is created and impregnates the masses.

Another division of the Indian population is now superimposed on that of the castes: the division into sects. The sect is as closed as the caste and admission is sometimes preceded by an initiation ceremony. But on the other hand the sect has a curiously democratic aspect in that it is open to everybody, without caste distinction; being founded in the Absolute, the sect transcends were social laws.

The sects of Hinduism can be divided into three big groups: the worshippers of Visnu, of Siva and of the Goddess, or, to translate her Sanskrit name Sakti, feminine and maternal Energy. These divinities are each regarded by their followers as the one God above all the others, or more exactly, as the personification of the Absolute. It is possible to choose one of their aspects or, as in the case of Visnu, one of his incarnations, like Krsna or Rama, and to render him loving adoration, *bhakti*, to *participate* in divine life (that is the meaning of the root from which the word *bhakti* derives); for, to allow for exchanges of love, it is necessary to attribute a personality to the Absolute.

This kind of devotion gave rise to fervent lyricism in Tamil literature. Less spontaneously, and in a more speculative spirit, than the Tamil texts, the vast Sanskrit compilations which are called the writings of the "ancients", the Puranas, contain all sorts of miscellaneous information and long narrations of the myths which are subject to complex interpretations. And the sculptors are not content merely to represent the episodes of these narratives. Their style of interpretation already suggests symbolism in the translation of the myths into plastic art. The reliefs of Mamallapuram and Ellora are authentic Purana fragments in stone, pregnant with meaning.

It would be appropriate now to present the rudiments of Hindu iconography of which the

indispensible explanations can be found in the myths. But it is better to keep exclusively in mind the two representations which provide a direct introduction into the spirit of medieval Hinduism: that is the sleep of Visnu and the dance of Siva.

During the immense interval of the cosmic periods Visnu reposes on the primordial waters; he sleeps stretched out on the coils of the serpent Sesa, "Endless", "Eternity". The most famous representation of this myth is that of Mamallapuram, where the gigantic impression of the size of the cosmos is accentuated by the rigidity of the central figure and by the lack of proportion between this figure and the secondary figures. In this manner universal energy is recreated; the world of sense perception, all apparent reality, is represented as the thought of the divine sleeper.

Where Visnu dreams the world, Siva dances it. The double process of creation and destruction is the game of his fantasy, played with sovereign freedom, and symbolised by the cosmic dance with its fervour which, although fortunately restrained, threatens each moment to destroy what it engenders. The post-Gupta and medieval sculptors exert themselves to express this violent equilibrium and there is a continuous progress to be seen from the reliefs of Ellora to the Dravidian bronzes.

Art thus gives us direct access to the civilisation of medieval India, an introduction to its spirit, drunk with symbolism, to its ardent and tormented sensibility. The post-Gupta period which was so artificially isolated, was basically a very important turning point in the chronological development of art, on the eve of a new phase of the history of India which was marked by the incursion into India of a foreign civilisation and the bands of Islam.

MEDIEVAL INDIA AND MUSLIM INDIA

The Muslim Conquest (750-1300)

While Harsa of Kanauj was still alive, a prophet of genius founded a new religion in Arabia and launched his people on a holy war. The destiny of India was to become irrevocably diverted by this event and the history of medieval India was sadly cut short by the progress of the Muslim conquest. Classical India was no more and one might be tempted to follow the example of certain historians and to break off the history of the civilisation of India at Harsa's death. But apart from the fact that this would be a flagrant injustice, the large number of medieval Indian illustrations in this book are an invitation to attempt a more detailed account of this period.

After an initial raid which did not have great political consequences, the Arabs invaded southern Sind in 711 and a few years later took possession of the holy city of Multan. This marks the beginning of exchanges of knowledge which were but a scanty compensation for the savagery and ruin, but which were on the other hand, the cause of the introduction into Europe of certain elements of Indian science, in particular positional notation and use of zero.

This initial Arab success did not in the least upset the Indians, accustomed as they were to see strangers occupy the Panjab and Sind. For almost three centuries India remained indifferent with impunity to the threat which was already living on her soil.

The two most prominent dynasties in Hindustan at this time were that of the Pratiharas, Hindus, who reigned at Kanauj, and that of the Palas, Buddhists, who were sovereigns of Bengal.

The Pratiharas were a typical example of the Rajputs: quarrelsome and brilliant, protectors of religion and literature and, when the occasion arose, scholars and poets in their own right. They are important on several counts, especially in connection with the history of Indian dramatic writing. The greatest of them, Mihira Bhoja, reigned with great pomp over an extensive territory, from Malwa to the Panjab and from Kathiawar to Banaras.

At the end of the 8th century the Palas fought over the possession of Kanauj with the Pratiharas. They were ardent defenders of Buddhism and endowed the universities of Odantapuri,

of Nalanda and of Vikramasila. During their reign religious envoys were sent several times to Tibet where Buddhism had gained a foothold in the 7th century under the double influence of India and China. They also maintained relations with the Indianised kingdoms of Sumatra and of Malaya where Buddhism was also flourishing.

The art of the Palas inherited Gupta traditions and although it extended its influence to Indonesian art and later to Nepalese art, it scarcely had any exchanges with the arts of other regions in India. From the end of the Gupta period, stone statues were backed by a stele which was gradually covered all over with numerous subsidiary figures, although the bareness of the background had not been inelegant; owing to an excessive predelection for jewellery, even the figure of the Buddha was adorned. But the great innovation of this art was the casting of bronze statues which were sometimes gigantic, although those which have been preserved are usually small ones. Their technique combined the founding method *a cire perdue* with the carving of the details, in particular of the circle of flames which was substituted for the stele of the stone pieces.

In the Deccan, meanwhile, the dynasty of the Rastrakutas and the Pallavas, vassals of the Calukyas, supplanted their old masters in about 750 without materially changing the established balance of power; political rivalry continued between the Rastrakutas and the Pallavas as well as that in architecture. In the second part of the 8th century the Rastrakutan ruler Krsnnaraja I marched across the territory of the Patiharas as far as Kashmir, and had the monolithic temple Kailasanatha, which rivalled the temple of the same name and a century older at Kanci, carved in the rocks of Ellora. This was a glorious time for the Maratha empire, and the Arab sailors who came to buy merchandise in the ports of Konkane did not hesitate to place the Rastrakuta ruler, the emperor of Byzantium, the Son of Heaven and the Caliph of Baghad on the same level of greatness.

Among the numerous principalities of lesser importance, that of Candella, in Bundelkhand, in the region of the Vindhya mountains and on the borders of Hindustan and the Deccan, owed its active political role to this central geographical situation. Its capitals, Kalanjara and Khajuraho, were embellished with numerous monuments which survived the destructive raids of the Turco-Afghans.

Shortly before the year 1000 the most prominent dynasties lost their power. The Pallavas were ousted at the end of the 8th century by their southern neighbours, the Colas, although the latter did not achieve any real significance before about AD 1000. At the end of the 10th century the Rastrakutas were overthrown by the Calukyas, descendants of their former suzerains. The Pala territories were invaded by mountain tribes, and the empire of the Pratiharas gradually disintegrated to the advantage of the new dynasties. The Kacchapaghatas at Gwalior deserve to be mentioned on account of their role in architecture. But the two most important dynasties which survived that of the Pratiharas were the Caulukyas (or Solankis) of Gujarat, who remained until 1310, and the Paramara, whose capital, Dhara, eclipsed Ujjain. The history of the first Paramara ruler, the famous Muja, is a real-life adventure story: a warrior and poet, he attacked his southern neighbours, the Calukyas, with initial success; he was then taken prisoner and became the lover of his victor's sister and was finally beheaded.

At the same time, the Muslim Turks who had installed themselves in the Afghan mountains, around Ghazni, directly threatened India. Mahmud, prince of Ghazni, first attacked Jayapala, king of the Panjab, who managed to organise a coalition, including the rulers of Pratihara and Candella; but he was defeated and mounted his funeral pyre alive. Anandapala of the Panjab, and Rajyapala of Kanauj, the sons of the defeated Rajahs, resumed the struggle with no more success than their fathers. Mahmud launched altogether seventeen incursions into India, bringing ever more massacre and ruin. The towns of Mathura, Kanauj, Sarnath and many others were destroyed. Religious zeal served as an excuse for cupidity and vandalism; and yet this cruel Mahmud was so taken with culture and luxury that he surrounded himself with such eminent personalities as Firdausi and Al Biruni who did not regard religious sectarianism as an obstacle to acquiring a profound knowledge of Indian thought and civilisation.

Mahmud thirsted more for pillage than for conquest. He returned to his eagle's nest in Ghazni, which had become a sumptuous capital, to die; India could revive again. The Pratihara royal family had been carried off by the storm but the Palas, the Paramaras, the Candellas and the Caulukyas of Gujarat, where the great Jain temples had been built, remained in their places. Before disappearing, the Paramara family gave India one of its greatest kings, Bhoja, a scholar and a poet, founder of a university and the builder of the great artificial lake of Bhojpur.

The Colas, above others, now deserve our particular interest. They had created an empire which extended overseas. Rajaraja I, a contemporary of Mahmud of Ghazni, had taken possession of Vengi, the capital of the eastern Calukyas; he penetrated as far as Kalinga and in the south he attacked Ceylon. However, he did not neglect the religious foundations and at Tanjore he had a colossal temple built which still bears his name (the Rajarajesvara). His son Rajendra Coladeve reached the Ganges, invaded Bengal, launched expeditions to Malaya and Sumatra and imposed his suzerainty on several of the states which controlled the isthmus of Kra and the Straits of Malacca, that is to say, the commercial routes to the Far East.

But the apogee of the dynasty lasted scarcely half a century. Ceylon regained its autonomy. This marked the beginning of a period of grandeur for the holy island of the Buddhism of the Lesser Vehicle. The Pandyas, the southern neighbours of the Colas, gradually gained independence while in Telingana the Kakatiya dynasty founded the town of Warangal, later to become Hyderabad.

In the western Deccan the Calukyas were reigning from Kalyani. Vikramaditya VI (about 1075–1125), a founder of temples, defender of the law, patron of a famous lawyer and a famous poet, carried on in the purest Indian tradition. But a short time after this brilliant reign, the Canarese country became separated from that of the Marathas. Two new dynasties supplanted the ancient Calukya family: the Yadavas of Maharastra and the Hoysalas of Mysore. Bittadeva, who freed Mysore from Calukya and Cola overlordship, received the famous Vaisnavite scholar Ramanuja in his country and founded temples at Belur and Halibid.

The area of the greatest instability was still Hindustan, except for the regions of Bengal, where the Palas were reigning without much glory, Kashmir, a brilliant centre of literature and thought, and Gujarat, the holy country of Jainism. The ancient empire of Kanauj had once more been restored by the Gahadavala dynasty but now moved to the east and had a second capital, Banaras, which the Palas had lost in the beginning of the 11th century. Another important Rajput clan, called the Cahamanas, founded the town of Ajayameru, Ajmer, in the 12th century and, for the first time in Indian history, made Delhi a capital city.

If Gahadavala and Cahaman had been allies, they would have been able to resist the new Muslim wave which was about to descend on India. But Prthviraja of Ajmer had abducted the daughter of the ruler of Kanauj-Banaras to make her his wife, just at the moment when the Ghazni dynasty was chased out of Ghazni by another Turco-Afghan prince, Mohammed of Ghor. He was fighting the Candella while this same Mohammed captured the last prince of Ghazni at Lahore. He confronted the Muslim armies without being allied with his father-in-law but was nevertheless victorious in their first encounter. His defeat in the following year threw India open to the invaders.

In contrast with Mahmud of Ghazni, Mohammed of Ghor nourished the ambition of founding a Muslim empire in India. He chose Delhi as his capital while his generals took possession of the Calukya and Candella capitals, of Kanauj and Banaras, where the old Jayaccandra was put to death, and ultimately arrived in Bengal.

From this time onwards Hindustan was in the hands of the Muslims. The turn of the Deccan came one century later. During the whole of the 13th century one palace revolution followed upon the other at the court at Delhi. There is only one ruler who deserves to be mentioned: that is Iltutmis, to whom the Muslim art of the Indies owed so much, and who organised and consolidated the administration of the new sultanate. At the end of the century the Khilji

Afghans dethroned the last independent Indian kings. The armies of Islam submerged the Deccan; but only a few years later Vijayanagara, the last great Hindu state, arose.

Despite the victorious assaults of Islam, this medieval period of Indian history was very far from being in a phase of cultural decline. The rivalry between Saivites and Vaisnavites gave rise to ardent and fruitful controversies, especially in the Dravidian lands. Without entering into the details of the extraordinarily subtle systems, it would not be superfluous, if only for the understanding of the works of art, to recall that the desire to attribute existence only to the Absolute always renders suspect, to the Indians, the reality of the world of sense perception. Sankara, a philosopher of genius and at the same time a man of action, established a solid, monastic organisation on Indian territory and proclaimed with intransigeance the indivisible unity of the Absolute: from then on creation is only apparent: it is pure illusion, Maya, the free play of the Unconditioned.

This is the Saivite point of view. But although Vaisnavites dared not stand up against the Upanisadic identity of *brahma* and *atman*, they wished to attribute to souls at least relative reality, which would make possible direct exchanges in the nature of love and grace between the worshipper and his god.

Ramanuja, an exile from the Tamil country as a result of Saivite intolerance of the Colas, was both the creator of a new system and the theoretician of divine love, *bhakti*.

On a more practical level, the methods followed by the *yogis* led Buddhists and Hindus to seek to surmount the human condition with the aid of ascetic and magical practices; in this way came about the *Tantra* which claims to put all the resources of physiology at the disposal of spiritual realisation. The adepts of tentric rites surround themselves with a halo of mystery and horror, haunt cemeteries and are also given to sexual practices. These tendencies, this whole lustful and frightening atmosphere, did not fail to be reflected in art and literature.

In particular eroticism was one of the most striking characteristics of medieval sculpture. The couples on the walls of the temples, entwined in indefatigable embraces, are most surprising, especially since no attempts have been made to grasp their complex symbolism. Do they represent the exaltation of upsurging vitality? Yes, but not exclusively. The fusion of the God with his feminine energy, his *sakti*, is, on the contrary, an image of the restoration of the unity disrupted by creation, of the re-integration in the Absolute of the diversity which at the same time it engenders. The carnal act, particularly in Krsna worship, is also the symbol of the ineffable union of the soul and the Lord. This participation in the creative effusion of the divine Gamester, the cosmic Dancer, thus expresses at the same time the aspiration to lost unity and participation in universal love of which the play of divine grace is the supreme form.

One of the oldest examples of this eroticism is borrowed from the Kailasanatha of Ellora, but it manifests itself mainly from the 10th century onwards on the walls of the Indo-Aryan temples of Orissa and of Bundelkhand.

Bhubanesar in Orissa is a city of temples. The oldest ones (those of Parasurama and of Vetal Deul, besides others) are post-Gupta and contemporary with those of Pattadakal. But the style becomes gradually more elaborate: the most beautiful example of this style is the Lingaraja temple at Bhubanesar. At Khajuraho, in Bundelkhand, some thirty temples are still standing, the zest of their main towers underlined by the miniature sikharas standing closely around them. The builders strained themselves to increase the height of the temples excessively: the peak of this development is reached at Konarak in Orissa, but in this case the *sikhara*, which is believed to have been nearly 400 feet high, has collapsed and only the *mandapa*, the chapel, survives, imitating the divine chariot with its profusely decorated wheels.

The Dravidian style undergoes an evolution which is almost parallel: the sanctuary—the *vimana*—becomes higher; the most beautiful example is the temple of Rajarajesvara at Tanjore. But by multiplying the number of *mandapas* and galleries, the Tamil architects attempted to create complexes comprising pools, different halls and even accomodation for priests and temple

staff. The whole is surrounded by walls with monumental gates, the *gopurams*, forming colossal pyramids which became the most remarkable feature of the temple during the period of Vijayanagara.

In Gujarat the Jains replaced the old temples destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni by stone ones, perched high on holy mountains: at Girnar, at Satrunjaya, on Mount Abu. They developed an elegant style of architecture in a slightly exuberant way, from which Muslim art borrowed several elements.

So much for the principal types. But there are many local varieties. The Teli-Ka-Mandir at Gwalior reverted to the rectangular plan and the false barrel-vaulted roof of the 11th century to be seen in the Vetal Deul. The Hoysala style, at Belur and Halebid, produced buildings of a radiating ground-plan, placed on elevated platforms and decorated with long friezes; and finally in Kashmir there were numerous temples with pyramidal roofs and trapezoid or triangular pediments, with their heritage of Gandharan traditions. The most important one, that of Martand, was dedicated, like the sanctuary of Multan, to a sun god.

The Muslim conquest did not completely interrupt this magnificent development; nevertheless Indian art, essentially religious, suffered even more than the other aspects of Indian civilisation from political events. But these same invaders, who so brutally brought destruction for Hindu and Jaina art, were themselves fond of architectural magnificence and endowed India with monuments which are not to be overlooked. At the time of the first Sultanate of Delhi, Iltutmish had the colossal Qutb Minar built and it was finished in 1230. This is the minaret of a mosque of which only the purely Indian pillars survive, which rises with its five stories to a height of 235 feet, not far from the mausoleum of its founder.

The Muslim Occupation and Vijayanagara (1300-1800)

The unity Ala'-ud-Din Khilji had imposed on India was of short duration: the Khiljis were first replaced by the Tugluqs and then, in 1398, the Turco-Mongol invasion of Tamerlane descended on India, leading once more to fragmentation. The provincial governors detached themselves from the Sultanate to create independent Muslim states, while the Hindu states of Rajasthan were largely freed from all Muslim overlordship; in Orissa a Hindu dynasty was ruling which had the famous temple of Jagannatha built at Puri, and in the south, the empire of Vijayanagara in Mysore was shining with unequalled splendour.

The disintegration of the Sultanate gave rise to the differentiation of provincial styles: the Sarqu style of the Jaunpur dynasty, the "Shiraz of the Orient"; the style of Gaur-Pandua in Bengal; the style of Ahmadabad, in Gujarat, the Indian town richest in mosques, all impregnated with Jaina influence; and finally in Malwa, the style of Mandu, not an unworthy successor of Ujjain and Dhara. While having to ward off the aggressions of Vijayanagara, the Bahmani dynasty (1347–1490) of the Deccan filled its capital with numerous monuments. When the Bahmani empire fell apart into five kingdoms, the most important ones for the art historian were those of Golkonda and, particularly, Bijapur: this town was the most brilliant of the Muslim cities in the Deccan, its monuments characterised particularly by their domes, the most imposing of which is that of the mausoleum of Mohammed Adil Shah (2nd half of the 17th century).

Meanwhile Delhi had become the capital of a new empire, called the Mughal empire, founded by Babur, a descendant of Temerlane and Gengis-Khan. A minor prince in Turkestan, Babur had taken refuge at Kabul, conquered Delhi in 1526 and maintained himself in India despite the concerted efforts of the Indian Muslims and the Rajputs. This was the beginning of a dynasty of which the most brilliant rulers were Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and finally, Aurangzeb.

Akbar (1556–1605) was the true founder of the Mughal empire. Most notably he came up against the traditional courage of the Rajputs whose resistance led them to such acts of heroism

as the collective suicide of the defenders of Chittor. He then occupied himself, with great insight and tolerance, with the resolving of social and religious problems in India while he still had to face dangers inside and outside his empire which threatened its safety. His son Jahangir and his grandson Shah Jahan very effectively confronted grave crises. Crime was one of the most commonplace methods of government of these refined and fastidious emperors. In contrast with his predecessors, Aurangzeb (1658–1707), the last of the great Mughals, gave proof of such intolerant devotion as to resuscitate the largely effeced antagonism between Hindus and Muslims. He applied himself to breaking the resistance of the Marathas of the Deccan, who were led successively by Sivaji and Sambhuji, but was unable to douse the courage and spirit of independence of these champions of Hindu nationalism.

After him, and undoubtedly partly as a result of his intolerance, the Moghul empire disintegrated. The Portuguese had already installed themselves in Goa in 1509; then the Dutch, the English, the Danes and the French appeared on the scene. Until now they had played only a modest role. Soon they were to move to the front rank.

Despite foreign occupation, India continued to live throughout these centuries. Absolute fanaticism, leaving the Indians the choice between conversion and death, was altogether exceptional. The few invaders, relatively small in numbers, could not in a few centuries obliterate the traditions of thousands of years in such a vast and densely populated country as India.

The majority of the Muslim rulers confined themselves to imposing the *jiza*, the tax to which, according to Muslim law, the infidels are liable; it was suppressed by Akbar and re-established by Aurangzeb. They also admitted Indians to high functions in their government. In times of peace the life of the people was scarcely affected by the religion of their ruler, whether he was a Rajah or a sultan. The races mixed, even in the royal families: Jahangir, for example, was the son of a Hindu woman. Finally, there were numerous conversions among the people of their own free will; even religion itself became a ground for mutual understanding: both Muslims and Hindus showed themselves to be primarily Indian, conciliatory even in their adoration of the Divine, on the very level where they might well have been hostile to one another.

Bhakti, deeply rooted in Indian religious tradition, underwent a renewal in medieval India after the preaching of Ramanuja and even more so after that of his fifth successor, Ramanand. Ramanand, who lived in the 13th century, opened the way to *bhakti* to all sects and, renouncing Sanskrit, he adopted Hindi for his sermons. The modern languages which derive from Sanskrit were consolidated at this time: in the 14th century the first literary texts appeared in Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi. This new literature consists of epic texts, adaptations of the old epics, the most famous one being the profoundly religious poem of Tulsi Das, a Hindi adaptation of the *Ramayana*, and, finally, hymns composed by the "saints" of Vaisnavism who sing of the mercy of the Lord and of the total abandon of the faithful, and poems to the glory of Rama of a passionate ardour and sensuality.

Mathura, the home country of Krsna, with its profusion of legendary memories, was an important centre of *bhakti*. But it was in Bengal, the chosen province of Saktism, and where Buddhist tantrism had arisen, that the *sahajya* spread, the choice of a female companion in the spiritual quest, in the exaltation of the forces of love: the most simple and delicately poetic singer of *sahajya* was Chandidas, who sang, as Jayadeva had done before him, of the adventures of Radha and the divine Shepherd.

The most influential of the great *bhaktas* was perhaps Chaitanya, also a Bengali, who preached for a long time at Puri, in Orissa. He urged a long apprenticeship to divine love by a progressive refinement and intensification of the sensory faculties. And finally the Bauls, still in Bengal now, a sect of boatmen whose songs inspired Rabindranath Tagore, have until this day preserved the spirit and the lyricism of medieval *bhakti*.

Bhakti disregarded all caste barriers: free of the notion of ritual impurity, it removed the prime obstacle which came in the way of contacts between Muslims and Hindus. Within Islam, *Sufism*, a parallel mystical movement developed by itself, always a little suspect, not without

reason, to orthodox Muslims. The mysticism of the *sufis*, their very pure way of life, gained them the sympathy of the Hindus, and *sufis* and *bhaktas* often felt themselves engaged in an identical quest, only in different ways.

The person who did most to reconcile the two religions—though in fact evading both—was Kabir, originally a Muslim, who stood up against all intolerance and even against all dogmatism and all ritual practices, to proclaim the greatness of the one divine love. His most famous disciple, Nanak, founded the Sikh sect; its capital was Amritsar where the book attributed to Nanak, the *Adi Granth Sahib*, was placed in a temple.

For political as well as religious reasons Akbar himself attempted to impose a synchretism in which the elements of different religions, Parsism, Hinduism, Jainism, were mixed. The Great Muhgals did not follow up this effort and Aurangzeb partly annihilated the fruits of a secular evolution. But one may wonder what would have happened if his unfortunate brother, Dara Sikuh, who did not hide his sympathies for Hinduism and had the Upanisads translated into Persian, had reigned instead of him.

The two civilisations began to mingle but always without the danger of becoming one. The Muslims in India always remained in contact with the west, especially with Persia. Arabic remained the religious language, Persian was the court language and there existed a brilliant Mughal literature in which a considerable Persian vocabulary (with Arabic and Turkish words) mingled with western Hindi, while a body of Muslim literature developed in Sindhi, an Indo-Aryan language.

This Muslim contribution was more important in art than in any other field. While Dravidian architecture culminated at Vijayanagar and the Tamil bronzes compensated for the deterioration in stone sculpture in the north, the art of miniatures profited at the same time from Persian and indigenous traditions. Whether they are Mughal or Rajput, these miniatures equally belong to the Indian artistic heritage and if they are scarcely dealt with in this book which by its very conception hardly leaves any room for works of art in colour, the reason is that they deserve better than a limited sampling and cursory praise.

The miniature was the art of luxury and grace, architecture that of prestige: the monuments, secular as well as religious, which strove to bear witness by their magnificence to the pre-eminence of the religion of the Prophet, themselves also owed many elements to India. Apart from using indigenous labour, the Turco-Afghans did not hesitate to re-use in their edifices fragments of temples they had pulled down.

To neglect it would do injustice to this Indian Muslim art which forms yet another part of the vast museum India presents to the traveller.

We have already mentioned the main monuments of the first Delhi Sultanate and the styles of the provincial kingdoms of the 14th to the 17th centuries in their historical context. But the golden age of Indo-Muslim art was indeed the Mughal period.

The Great Mughals accorded their towns particular care. Delhi, Lahore, Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, founded by Akbar in honour of the birth of his son, abound with mosques and palaces of a magnificence which excites the enthusiasm of the European traveller. But even more famous perhaps are the mausoleums: that of Akbar at Sikandar, that of the father-in-law of Jahangir at Agra, and the famous Taj Mahal, the tomb of the much loved wife of Shah Jahan. All the monuments are preciously elegant and sumptuous, relieved by crenellated marble, gay with the polychrome arrangement of red sand-stone and white and coloured marble, and enriched with mosaics of jewels inserted into the stones.

This is indeed all far removed from the spirit of classical India, but nobody would regret that by this brilliant scherzo, a sequel is achieved which lacks neither the majesty of the allegro, nor the profundity of the adagio.

regrettable that not one painting on wood has survived. This predilection for painting did not extend only to those parts of the temples and stupas which were not carved, for very often these carvings were covered with plaster before being coloured.

The domes of the stupas were also brilliantly decorated. We do not know how the roofs of wooden buildings looked in this period but remains of stucco and paint still sticking to the superstructures of temples indicate that their exterior was equally colourful. This custom persists until the present day in the south of India where some statues of the gods and sculptures of the gopurams are periodically covered with white-wash and painted in vivid colours.

In few countries is the art so intimately intermingled with the life and the political adventures of the people. For us, the temples of India are not only religious books written in stone, but the very history of those who built them. Here, more than anywhere else, the stones are evocative, even if their meaning is mysterious and esoteric. We shall try to sketch briefly for each period the main historical and political events which gave rise to the flowering, the disappearance or the transformation of a style. While the stones keep alive popular stories of conquest and glory, they are influenced even more by the religions which inspired their erection and their carving. Buddhism and Jainism, the first to originate stone sculpture, were gradually supplanted by the Brahmanism which is still alive today. With the Muslim invasions, art had to be transformed to conform with the demands of the new religion. But, with very few exceptions, India never accepted foreign influences, whether religious or political, without marking them with her own seal; foreign masters employed Indian artists and artisans whose distinctive style can always be recognised.

As for the prehistoric art of India, this does not differ appreciably from that of other countries. Here and there, nevertheless rock engravings do exist. But since this art continued in India well into the Christian era, it is difficult to date these paintings. In fact, the information we have is too scanty to permit us to attribute a prehistoric origin to them with any certainty. Further, the study of objects of cut or polished stone would fall outside the field we have set ourselves. We will therefore begin with Mohenjo-daro and then pass on straight to the first manifestations of Indian art, leaving a blank of more than a thousand years. Only the epics and the traditions of the Hindusa are able to throw light on this period. Neither remains nor monuments have survived to support the different theories which have been suggested. We prefer to admit that we know nothing of what happened in India between the moment when tribes of the white race introduced the war chariot, to the day when a great emperor received at his court at Pataliputra, present-day Patna, Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador, and this emperor's grandson, Asoka, had his edicts carved in the rock.

It seems to be in sculpture that in the course of the centuries Indian artists found their favourite medium of expression. The sculptors, who were usually stone cutters, found abundant stone in their country. One might say that each period, each style, had its favourite material, usually provided by a quarry close to the artistic centre. That is why the temples form part of the countryside and can only be fully appreciated in relation to it. The statues and other sculpture of the Maurya period are of the sand-stone from Chumar which takes a very beautiful polish; the bas-reliefs of Sanchi in dull red and grey sand-stone; the sculpture of Mathura in white-spotted red sand-stone, that of Gandhara in schist. The temples of the Deccan were made of basalt, or "trap", a grey rock which abounds in the western Ghats; whereas at Amaravati marble is preferred. But it seems that the most abundant material is sand-stone.

Also, once a particular creed has shown preference for a certain art form, this then often develops in a well defined direction. We shall see that with Mahayana Buddhism a school of sculpture flourished which sought to represent the person of the Buddha, and that after a short transitional period (Amaravati) the old symbolic system was abandoned in favour of the new procedure. In India, art never followed a gradual and continuous evolutionary curve. A style is born in a particular region, it develops there, it more or less influences the styles of other areas, it degenerates and disappears. But the flame is rekindled elsewhere, sometimes simul-

taneously in several regions, and in its turn dies again. Thus, few styles lasted for more than three or four hundred years without being interrupted or changed completely. In India art was linked not only to religion (its most constant connection through the ages), but also with political life. A conqueror hardly ever completes a work begun by the vanquished: he is in too much of a hurry to show his newly won superiority and undertakes the construction of new temples, on different foundations, often adding another style to a particular regional one which then develops on the ruins of the old style or combines with it to give birth to new forms. For the artists and artisans follow local traditions which are difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate. These traditional skills and customs inevitably influenced the imported art; this explains now certain art forms as, for instance, Persian art, could not be imposed on India without being adapted very rapidly to the profoundly traditionalist spirit of India.

Indian artists and artisans, who formed a caste, were obliged to apply the immutable principles of art which were codified in one of the numerous religious treatises, the *Silpa Sastras*. Furthermore, they must, whatever their subject was, obey certain imperative rules and follow a strict discipline which was closely linked with a moral system. As Mr S. N. Das Gupta remarks: (*Fundamentals of Indian Art*, Bombay 1955):

"The *Samarangana-sutradhara* regards the following as the indispensable qualities of a good artist:
1 powers of intuitive contemplation or meditation (*prajna*)
2 powers of careful observation
3 technical skill of the hand through long practice
4 learning, particularly the science of metre or balance
5 anatomy of the different bodies of animals and men, both in movement and in repose and under the influence of diverse passions
6 ready intelligence (*pratyutpannamatitva*)
7 self-control and character."

For in India art forms depend on Indian philosophy. Contrary to the Greek concept in which the deity was an ideal human being who must be shown physically superior and perfect, muscle is disregarded in the Indian representation of the human body. All that counts is the thoughts, the intentions and the state of mind of the person depicted. Thus, a woman is always the symbol of maternity, fertility, charm and grace, and ugly women do not exist; the artist always seeks to re-create a spiritual ideal through appropriate corporeal forms. Man, virile and powerful, is such by dignity and a noble attitude, rather than by physique.

Indian art is nevertheless realistic in its minute observation and representation of life, without fear of shame or sentiment. Crudest reality, instead of being veiled, is simply idealised. Faces are never seen to reflect passion or grief; serenity and detachment are the expressions which should adorn the human features. While Indian sculpture has both its feet on the ground, it always looks towards the sky. However realistic it may be, it always remains highly symbolic and directed towards some ideal. The stone image is but a form which conceals a religious concept, an abstract idea, or philosophical thought, symbolised in the illustration of a legend, a divine, mythical or historical deed or act. When a king has a statue made of himself, he has the attributes of the god he worships, for he is his representative on earth. If he assumes the form of a worshipper, he expresses the feeling the believer should have towards the All-Powerful. Likewise the gods can assume several forms and personify vice or virtue, adopting characteristic masks, forms or attitudes. Some fearful figures which represent demons or chimeras, are made to inspire moral, much more than physical, fear. Otherwise one might say, in contrast with some authors, that Indian art has no monsters. Those it has are rare and of foreign origin, from Persia, or China. It might be argued that the many-armed gods are monsters. This is an error. In spite of these supplementary limbs they still basically resemble human beings. The extra arms which, incidentally, did not occur in the earliest representations of Indian gods, merely

PRE-ARYAN ART

Who were the people who lived in the huge cities built on or near the banks of the Indus: at Chanhu-daro, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa? Whence had they come? What language did they speak? What were their gods, their beliefs? What do their writings mean, what cataclysm caused their disapearance?

There are so many fascinating questions which we cannot, in fact, answer except hypothetically.

These cities exist, half buried under the sand, and reveal to us that three thousand years before the birth of Christ a people lived there who had a civilisation which was extremely advanced for that age. These cities are each dominated by a citadel surrounded by enormous earthen ramparts, faced with large baked bricks and intersected by gates approached by ramps and protected by chicanes, leading to interior roads and to the defensive towers. At the foot of the citadel lies the town with its marvellously conceived lay-out: wide roads intersecting at right angles, houses all ideally planned, with either one or more stories, workmen's quarters with standard two-room lodgings, markets, gigantic granaries, potteries, smithies, etc. The town has a very ingenious system of drains and culverts for its sanitation and fresh water supply. The culverts are paved and covered and have manholes at regular intervals and also at junctions. The houses, built of baked brick, are large and often have one or more masonry wells and sometimes a room which appears to have been reserved for bathing. The absence of openings to the street is reminiscent of the oriental pre-occupation with safeguarding the privacy of the household. Windows overlook small courtyards resembling patios. The upper stories, if they existed, must have been constructed above the wooden ceilings of the ground floor. Nothing is known about the shape of the roofs. Some buildings are properly paved, other, simpler ones, have only pounded earth floors. Corn mills have been found and, in the citadel of Mohenjo-daro, the foundations of a building which was provided with a large swimming pool which still defies all explanation. Was it a public bath or a ritual swimming pool? As it happens, not one temple has as yet been found. There are no decorations on the walls of the houses, no statuary has been found, no square, no palace. It would seem that the people of these cities ignored all artistic expression and led the laborious, monotonous life of cultivators and artisans, a strictly utilitarian life. Yet certain objects have been found which tend to prove the contrary. We know definitely that besides agriculture the main activity of the inhabitants of the Indus valley was commerce. They were great travellers and exported their products—grain, cotton, spices—to the ports of India and Mesopotamia. They had a knowledge of copper, bronze and gold, and were clever at making alloys. They had perfected systems of weights and measures, some sort of standards for all manufactured goods, and even bricks had to have "official" measurements. They wore jewellery, necklaces, bracelets, ear-rings, painted or embroidered materials; their children played with dolls, little chariots, articulated animals made from clay (Plates 9, 10). Finally, and above all, they had a script. Masses of seals have been recovered, showing astonishing glyptics and a pictorial script which is unique of its kind, comprising more than two hundred and fifty different

signs which are well defined and sometimes even completed with diacritical signs. This script, which nobody has as yet been able to decipher, shows no affinity with other known scripts. Moreover, it is found only on the seals (Plate 11), on copper tablets (fig. 4), and sometimes on pots. The combinations of signs rarely amount to more than about fifteen and seem to designate proper names or notations. Even if, some day, this script is to be deciphered, it would probably reveal very little of interest to us. On the other hand, the designs engraved on the seals and tablets are very instructive. The most frequent motif is the humped bull, often associated with a tree or a sort of little edifice which looks like an altar (Plate 11). Without being able to confirm it, one may postulate from the designs on the seals that the people of these cities practised a special cult devoted to the bull, as did the Cretans and the ancient Egyptians, and that they associated this cult with those of fertility and virility. Large numbers of clay statuettes representing a woman, also suggest a cult of the Mother (Plates 4–6) in her reproductive function and as a symbol of fertility. Furthermore, the seals and tablets show us a fauna which has now disappeared from those parts. Engravings of elephants, rhinoceroses, deer, inform us that the country was at that time covered with savannas and that there was a much greater rainfall than today. Man was often a hunter. There is one representation of a horned man which may be meant to symbolise a god or a chieftain. The inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro also bred cattle, sheep, goats; they had domesticated the dog and the cat.

The civilisation we have to do with here had assumed definite forms. There was a relatively large number of cities, lying not very far distant from each other. In the north, they seem to have been governed by Harappa which lay on the banks of the Ravi river, and in the south by Mohenjo-daro which occupied a comparable situation on the banks of the Indus, these two cities figuring as sister capitals. The lay-out of these towns appears to be the same and they were both regularly destroyed by floods, due to the uncertain flow of the Indus and Ravi, and

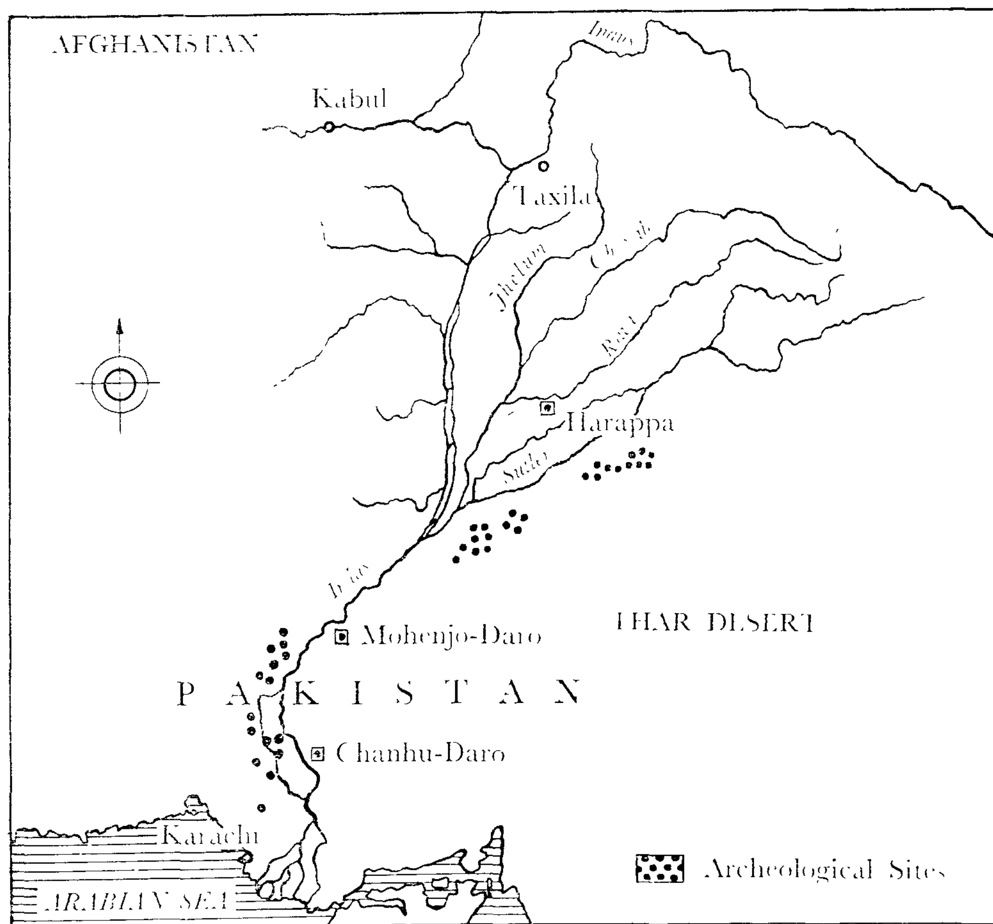


FIG. 3. DISTRIBUTION OF THE CIVILISATIONS OF THE INDUS

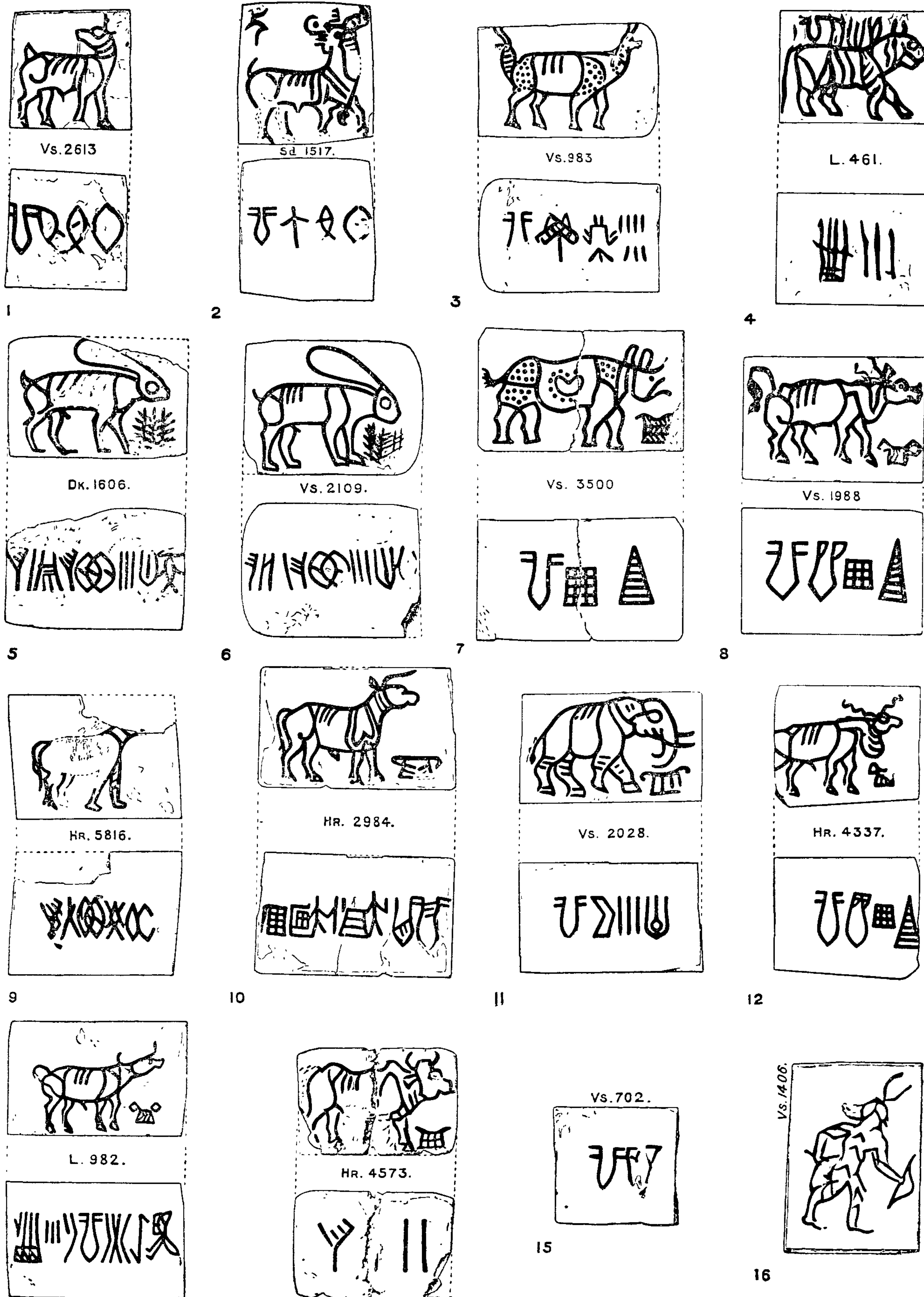


FIG. 4. INCISED COPPER TABLETS FROM MOHENJO-DARO. OBVERSE: VARIOUS ANIMALS: HARE, TIGER, RHINOCEROS, ELEPHANT, BULL, BUFFALO, HUNTER-SORCERER (?SHAMAN). REVERSE: COVERED WITH SIGNS OF A STILL UNDECIPHERED SCRIPT

(Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of India)

each time they were rebuilt according to the same plan. We are thus dealing with a very rare occurrence in world history: these civilisations, which lasted for many centuries, did not evolve. It appears that their political, social and cultural organisation was so perfect that no need for progress was felt, for, from the first town right up to the last, not one major change can be found either in the structure of the city, or in the way of life of the inhabitants. What is even more baffling is that the civilisation of Mohenjo-daro seems to have sprung up suddenly in the Indus valley, with all the characteristics and indications of an established maturity, on the site of a neolithic culture. This maturity suggests a long evolution, for it is inconceivable that such a brilliant civilisation could suddenly have emerged overnight on a neolithic dwelling place. This proves that this civilisation came from elsewhere. But where: that is the question.

From the artistic point of view the seals and engravings which have been found certainly show a maturity and skill which can only have been acquired through a long period of gestation. Besides the seals, a large number of clay statuettes of men and women, animals, cattle, dogs, goats, etc. have been found. There seem to be two distinctive types of art: on the one hand the seals and copper plaques, two small bronze statuettes representing young girls (Plate 3) and a few busts of bearded men, one of whom is wearing a shawl or garment decorated with a trefoil motif (Plate 2); and on the other hand the clay figurines which have a much more archaic style and are made less skilfully, mainly representing animals and human beings (Plates 4, 6–9).

What are we to conclude from all this?

If we consider the position of this civilisation in its geographic and commercial relationship to various other communities which had developed by that time, we note that the Sumerian civilisation is closest to that of the Indus valley. Contacts between Mohenjo-daro and Sumer must have been easier by water than by land. From Sumer it was easy to reach Mesopotamia and from there the ancient world. Contact by land was more dangerous on account of natural obstacles and wild tribes living in the mountains. Logically, the Indus civilisation should derive from that of Sumer. But we note profound differences between the two people and there is nothing to support this hypothesis; the objects which have been found prove that there were commercial contacts between the two people but nothing more than this. Without entering into the question of the bones found in the cemeteries and streets of the Indus city which are of people of very different races, we can almost certainly say that these towns had mixed populations and did not belong to any one well defined race.

If we summarise what has been found in these cities, we arrive at a clear division in life and culture:

Citadels	*Towns*
Seals, tablets	Rare inscriptions on pots
Refined sculpture	Primitive clay models
Precious jewellery	Primitive jewellery

We have therefore before us two cultures, almost two castes: nobles and commoners. It is but one step further to imagine the authoritarian government of one small part of the population over the masses. Could these nobles not have been colonisers, foreigners who came and conquered, imposing their own way of life on the populations they found in the area? As a commercial centre the town must have been the meeting place of all the nearby and distant tribes who gathered here to exchange and sell their goods; this would explain the mixture of ethnic types. As for the nobility, they must have been merchants, the masters of the land. Whereas the dead of the ordinary people were buried, those of the superior caste may have been burnt, for their remains have not been found. There is nothing at present to corroborate this hypothesis but it might be a logical explanation.

How did this civilisation disappear? That, again, is a mystery. Theories have been advanced: successive floods forced the inhabitants to abandon their towns; the monsoon shifted and the

country dried up progressively; nomad hordes attacked and ruthlessly pillaged the towns and citadels and in the end subjected them. Probably none of these causes was separately responsible but all simultaneously or successively may have played their part. The death of the Indus cities was a cruel agony to which man and the elements both contributed. There is no evidence which permits exact dating but it is likely that the death struggle lasted for several centuries, some time towards the end of the second millennium BC. The Indus civilisation was perhaps already dead when the tribes speaking an Indo-European language invaded the Panjab; if it was not, these warriors coming from the north sealed its fate. Perhaps the last townspeople of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro gave rise to the *dasu* legend of the epics of Vedic times.

1. HEAD OF A BEARDED MAN. The art of this head, in white steatite, is already very stylised; its ethnic characteristics may perhaps some day throw some light on the unknown civilisation called the "Indus Civilisation". The high cheekbones, the almost slit eyes, the straight nose and the wavy beard seem to indicate that the model was related to the ethnic types of the Caspian basin. But was this portrait that of a "nobleman" of Mohenjo-daro or of a foreigner? Was the carving made by an inhabitant of the valley or imported? Was it war booty or a trade commodity? These questions have to remain unanswered.

2. HEAD OF A MAN WEARING A SHAWL. Steatite. This head is more or less in the same style as the preceding one but shows more details, notably the fillet on the forehead ornamented with a round jewel, and a shawl with embroidered, painted or dyed trefoil motifs. These must have been encrusted with metal or ceramics, judging from the holes which have remained in the centre of the motif. This motif seems to come close to that with which some statuettes of the Sumer civilisation were decorated, especially one bull figurine from Uruk (4th millennium BC) and one of a bull with human head (end of the Akkad period). The beard is treated more sketchily here but on the other hand the pupils are indicated. The model evidently belonged to the same people as that of the other head. Height 29½″. *Photograph: Dept. of Archaeology, Government of India.*

3. LITTLE DANCING GIRL. This charming bronze figurine represents a young girl with graceful, slender limbs in a movement which may be a dance-step. The many bracelets ornamenting her arms, her pendant and her hair-style seem related to a civilisation which derived from that of Mohenjo-daro, perhaps that of Kulli, which was less evolved and situated further to the north, in the mountains. Was this girl a slave as her nakedness seems to suggest, or, on the contrary, a sort of sacred dancer? There is nothing as yet which can give any certainty. This statuette certainly represents the most perfect of the very rare bronze pieces which were found on the same site.

4. MOTHER-GODDESS. Terra-cotta figurine of small dimensions (height 3⅞″). Primitive technique. This woman wears a necklace which resembles that worn by the little dancing-girl, but she also has a belt and a rudimentary loin-cloth. The top of her head is decorated with a round ornament. She appears to be arranging her hair. Perhaps the curious object she carries on her head is an instrument, or a piece of furniture (a stool?).

5. GREAT BATH, MOHENJO-DARO. Situated in the centre of the fortress this strange construction of large baked bricks and bitumen is the largest and the most curious of the monuments which have been found. Some believe it to be a public bath connected with some religious rite; others, a simple swimming pool. It is rectangular in shape and there are two stairs at opposite ends for entering the water. The basin is approximately 130 feet long, 32 feet wide and 10 feet deep. There is a covered gallery with, in its northern face, eight little rooms, one of which contains a well. From each of these rooms a staircase must have led to an upper floor. *Photograph: Frances Mortimer.*

6. FEMALE FIGURINE. Sometimes identified as a representation of the mother-goddess. The attitude is simpler here: she wears no ornaments; a loin-cloth appears to encircle the hips. The curious hair-style is in the form of a halo, the treatment of the face childlike. A clay doll for children or a votive object?

7. STATUETTE OF A MAN. Terra cotta. The technique is the same as that of the preceding figure, but the man is completely naked, seems to have a shaven head and wears no ornaments. Is it a cult object or simply a doll?

8. TERRA COTTA HEAD. About 4 inches in height. The halo-like headdress indicates that this is a woman (see Plate 6). It is made more skilfully and suggests an attempt at modelling. Fingermarks can be seen on the headdress. Here, as in Plate 2, the eyes are oblique and almond-shaped, the cheekbones are prominent. The ears have been forgotten. Perhaps the hair-style entirely covers them.

9. TOY BULL. Little terra cotta figurine with articulated head, undoubtedly representing a hump-backed bull or zebu. It is coarsely made but nevertheless realistic. The striped bands on the animal body may be accidental or perhaps they represent a sort of harness. Was this statuette a toy, or perhaps a votive object, the cult of the bull being very wide-spread at this period?

10. CART. Terra cotta. This type of solid wheel still occurs in several places in India where it is cut straight from the stone. The cart itself is rudimentary and is still used today for all sorts of transport. Two bulls are harnessed to the single wooden pole of this strange primitive vehicle. *Photograph: Frances Mortimer.*

11. IMPRESSION OF A STEATITE SEAL. Actual measurements: ¾″ square. It depicts a bull in profile, the two horns being seen as one, while the legs are clearly differentiated, in front of some symbol (an altar?). Above appears a line of the enigmatic writing of the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro. The first sign on the left is found very often at the beginning of words inscribed on seals representing horned animals and only rarely on others. Thousands of similar seals have been found among the ruins of the Indus towns, some suggesting a fairly advanced stage of artistic development. They depict either animals or scenes which are probably religious. Whether they are totem-animals or just property marks we shall not know until the script is deciphered.

12. DECORATED POT. About 29½″ in height. Terra cotta with red background and black painting. The motifs are geometric in this case although some pots show plant and animal ornamentation. The forms vary much, ranging from flat plates to jars, footed goblets, containers with lids. These pots were numerous and well made. *Photograph: Dept. of Archaeology, Government of India.*

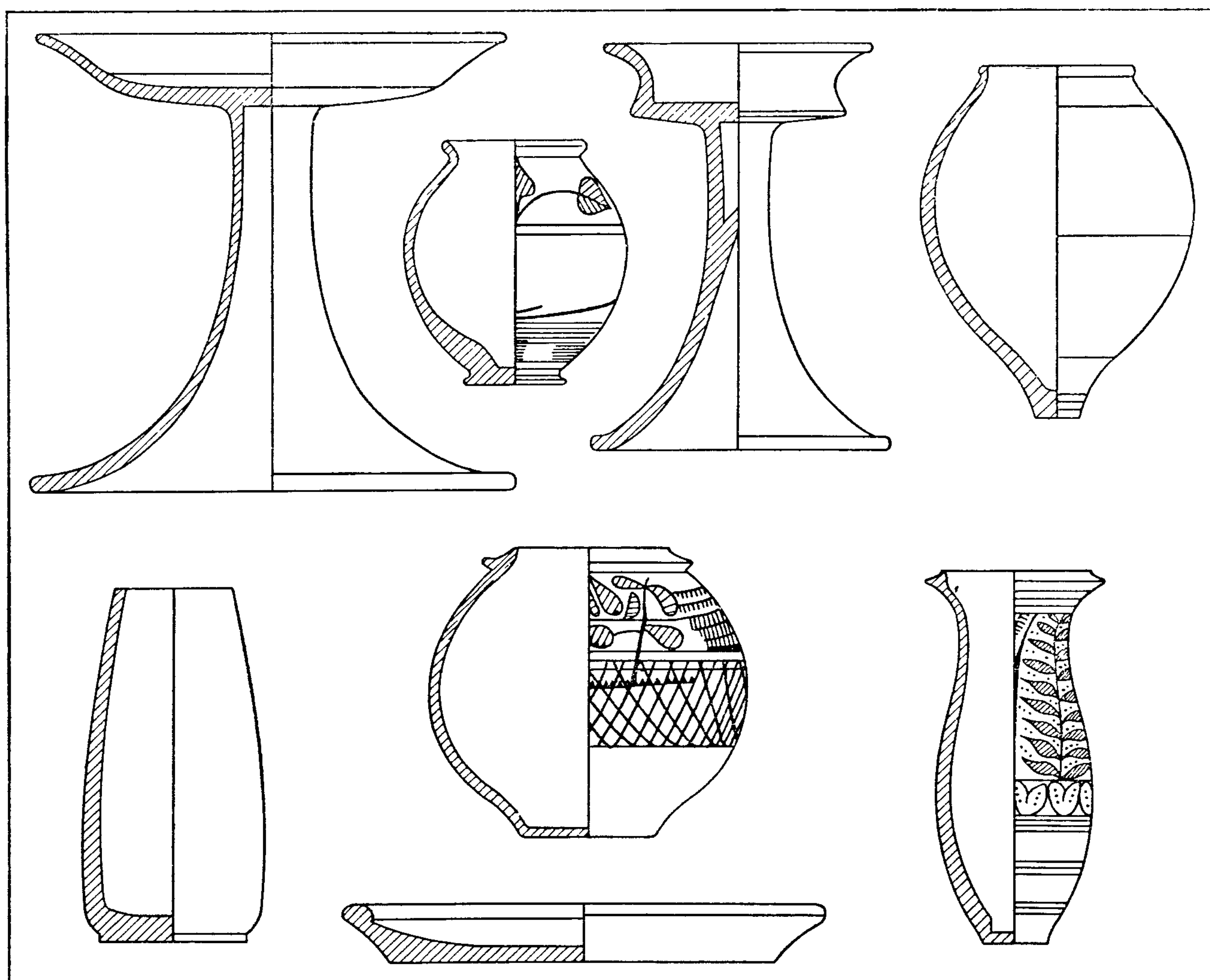
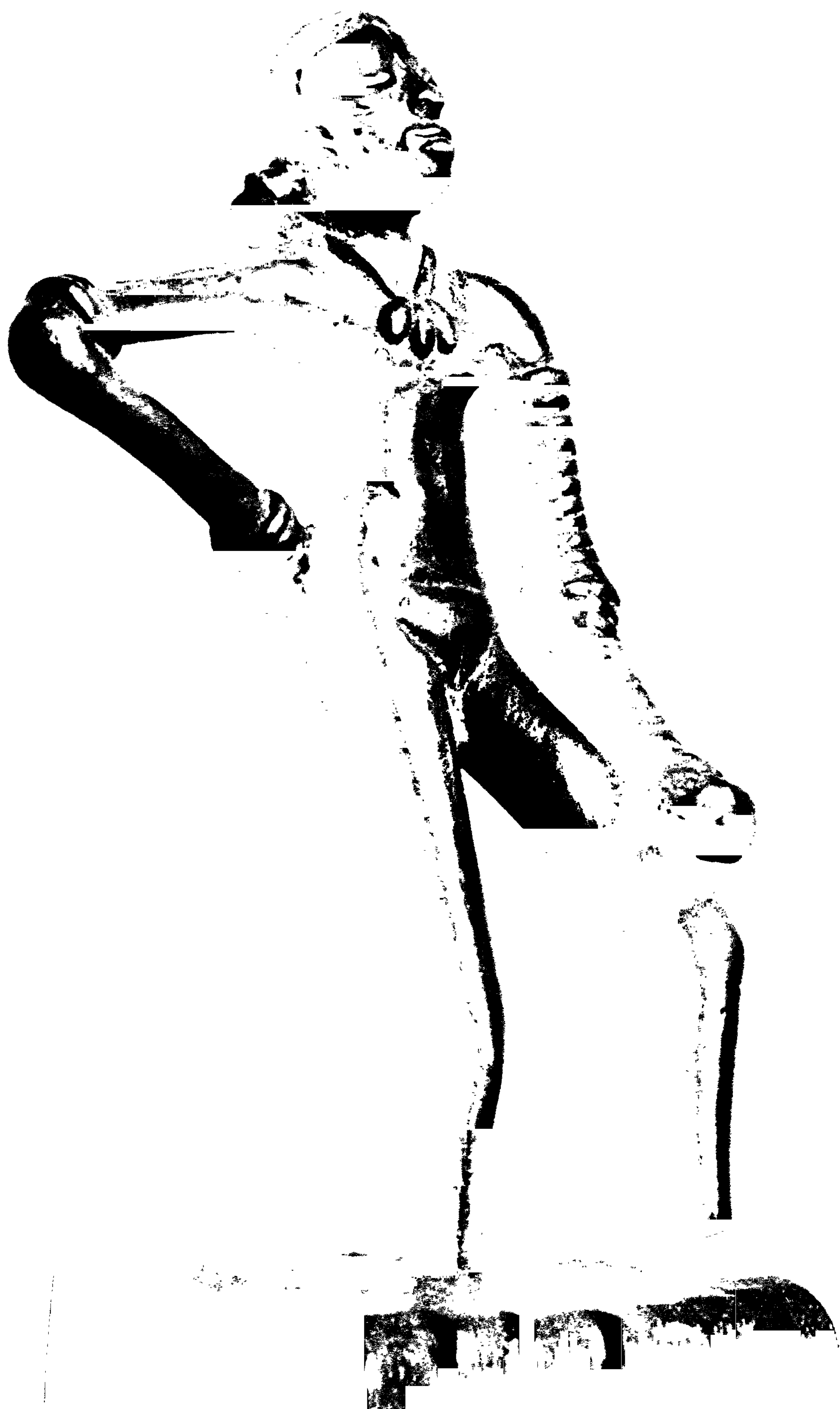


FIG. 5. SOME POTTERY TYPES FROM MOHENJO-DARO AND HARAPPA





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INDIAN ART

THE FIRST PERIOD: THE MAURYA AND SUNGA DYNASTIES (3rd cent. BC - 1st cent. AD)

A. The Mauryan Dynasty

The centuries passed. In the 3rd century before our era, art made its appearance again after a long eclipse and from this time onward was basically in the service of Buddhism. The emperor Asoka does not in so many words mention the Buddha's doctrine in his edicts but it was certainly his religious convictions which induced him to have these pillars erected, the first testimony of historical Indian art, on which the "King of Gracious Mien and Beloved of the Gods" had precepts engraved conforming with the Law as preached by the Buddha.

13. LION CAPITAL, SARNATH. This splendid piece of sculpture in a beautiful, polished sandstone is attributed to the reign of the emperor Asoka and was probably executed by artists who had come from Persia, attracted by the fame of the emperor. The four lions, back to back and facing the four cardinal points, are believed by some to represent the Four Noble Truths of Buddhism. The *cakra*, or solar disc, is supposed to represent the wheel of the Law, the endless cycle of births and rebirths. It is here associated with different animals which constituted the richness of the country. The inspiration of the bell-shaped capital is purely foreign. The remarkable delicacy of the treatment of the lions is reminiscent of Greek sculpture. This capital was mounted on top of a high column of polished sandstone carrying one of the famous edicts of Asoka and supported a colossal *cakra*. It was a testimony of the faith of the emperor and of the ethics he wished his people to adopt. Subsequently this capital was copied and used again in numerous decorative designs, but never with such consummate skill and artistry.

After it had been discovered by M. Oertal, it was broken into several pieces. It has now been restored and has been adopted by the Government of India as the national emblem with the motto: "Satyameva Jayate" ("There is nothing higher than truth"). *Sarnath Museum.*

14. LION CAPITAL, SARNATH, detail of the socle. It represents a galloping horse, a fairly rare feature in the sculpture of this period in which art was more formalistic and tended to be hieratic. It is manifestly a wild horse, herds of which were still found on the Iranian highlands. The treatment is skilful and remarkably true to life. The naturalism of the animals of the socle contrasts with the stylisation of the lions. *Photograph: Archaeological Survey of India.*

15. BULL FROM RAMPURVA. Attributed to the reign of Asoka. This boldly stylised bull was also mounted on one of the *lats* of the emperor which was placed at Rampurva, in the north of the present State of Bihar. The circular frieze with palmate leaf decoration on top of the bell-shaped capital indicates Persepolitan influence. The hump-backed bull, worshipped as the symbol of strength and virility, was to serve the Buddhist believers as a visible

reminder of their decision and determination to obey the Law. Polished sandstone. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

16. SHAFT OF THE SARNATH LAT. Polished sandstone. This shaft, broken into several pieces, is still standing where it was erected and still carries the engraved words of Asoka:

"...Thus the Beloved of the Gods proclaims: 'the Religion must not be divided. The monk or nun who breaks this unity shall receive white garments and must live outside the Community. This edict must be announced in the orders of monks and in the orders of nuns.' "

This curious notice gives an indication that the nascent religion was quick to change. The Chinese traveller Hsun-ts'ang who saw this pillar still intact in the 7th century, remarked:

"It shines and sparkles like a mirror. Its smooth surface is like ice and the silhouette of the Buddha may be seen on it permanently."

The shaft is approximately 13 feet high with a diameter of 2 feet 6 inches at the base. When it was complete, the shaft must have measured about 56 feet in height. It was made out of one single piece of stone.

17. LION CAPITAL, SANCHI. This capital is mounted on an erect column near the centre of the great stupa at Sanchi. It is a sort of copy of the Sarnath one, probably by Indian artists. The workmanship is in fact less skilful and the details are not so well observed. The famous polish, which was the renown of the monuments erected under Asoka, exists no longer. It is difficult to date this capital with any precision but it can be said with certainty that it is post-Asokan. Relatively well preserved, it still retains at the top the nave of the *cakra* by which it was surmounted. Here the frieze shows geese and birds pecking. It is much smaller than the famous Sarnath capital. Behind it the railings (*vedikas*) of the Great Stupa of Sanchi may be seen.

B. The Sunga and Kanva Dynasties

The Stupas

A stupa is a solid monument, unlike a temple. In its evolved form, once it has acquired its basic characteristics, it consists of a more or less hemispherical mound, circular in cross section, with or without a cylindrical base and called *anda*, or egg. This *anda* was sometimes placed on a terrace, usually round, which also carried one or more circular walks or ambulatories. The dome is invariably surmounted with a little pavilion which is generally rectangular and resembles an altar, the *harmika*, and on top of this there is a shaft with three to nine umbrellas, indicating the sacred nature of the edifice. The circumambulatory terraces are surrounded with railings, or *vedikas*, and interconnected by staircases. At the foot of the stupa another circumambulatory is enclosed by a *vedika* which generally has offset gates, facing the four cardinal directions and surmounted by *toranas*, or sculptured portals, of a particular type. Columns frequently stand near the stupa, sometimes within and sometimes outside the *vedika*, near one of the entry gates. The oldest stupas are flattened; the diameter of their base is greater than their height. In the course of their development the diameter of the base decreases, becoming equal to, and subsequently less than, the height. The stupa then assumes its cylindrical aspect. The terraces increase in number and the decoration becomes more intensive. But the characteristics of the stupa remain the same.

It has been suggested that this more or less hemispherical form, used for the requirements of a cult, either Buddhist or otherwise, derives from the funerary tumuli used by neolithic peoples. It is thought that the memory of the death of the Buddha was connected with the Buddhist origin of the stupa, and that it was initially erected to commemorate and perpetuate his *Parinirvana* in the memory of the faithful. It is, however, possible that the stupa in its original form existed as a cult object well before the time of the Buddha. It is difficult to visualise the Faithful re-inventing this form rather than another one, for the requirements of their religion. The explanation may be that the first Buddhists adopted a form of sanctuary which already existed in their area and was later abandoned. These very ancient stupas, built of earth and sun-baked bricks did not withstand erosion and disappeared without leaving any trace. We have been

fortunate to find among the very backward Nepalese Terai tribes the survival of a cult which might help to explain the origin of the stupa and of its form, as well as the rather unusual presence of the *harmika* on the top of it. Among these tribes similar forms are in fact still worshipped, made of painted clay, representing a woman's breast placed on the earth and symbolising the fertility cult. The Mother Goddess, the image of the earth, had to be worshipped and receive sacrifices or homage if the people were to obtain from her the abundant harvests which feed man, as a woman gives the breast to her children. It is possible that this form, the image of the Mother Goddess and then, by extension, of the Universe, was taken up again by the Buddhists to express the supreme message of their Master, *Nirvana*. The form of the *anda* could be explained more logically in this way and the presence of the *harmika* would now make sense, representing originally the nipple of the breast. The propitiatory rites of these Terai tribes consist mainly of incantatory chants around this breast symbol: this may have inspired the analogous Buddhists rite and the establishment of terraces and *pradaksinapathas* surrounded by palisades to shelter the Faithful during their circumambulations.

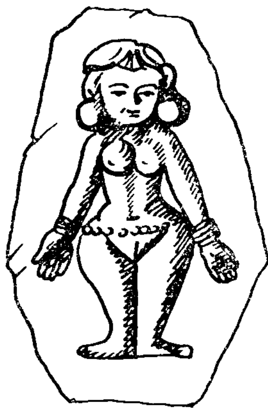


FIG. 6. CHASED GOLD LEAF, FOUND IN THE STUPA OF LAURIYA-NANDANGARH

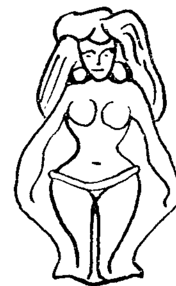


FIG. 7. TERRA COTTA STATUETTE OF THE MAURYAN PERIOD (300-200 BC), FOUND AT TAXILA (2ND PERIOD)

Later, when the stupa had become characteristically Buddhist, it served as a reliquary, then as a monument commemorating an event or to indicate a sacred place. It became a pious custom of the Faithful to construct them at the places which had been important in the life of the Buddha, and these sacred places were covered with stupas of all sizes, more or less richly decorated in accordance with the means of the donors. They became votive objects (one legend assures us that there were 84,000 during Asoka's time) and covered the empty spaces around the great stupas which marked the sacred places of Buddhism. Those who could not build stupas modelled miniatures from clay and offered them at the sanctuary. When the Buddhists began to excavate their temples in the rocky spurs of the Western Ghats, they did not fail to retain the stupa as a symbol and placed it in the centre of the sanctuary, the place logically reserved for the Deity. It was then called *dagoba*. Initially a commemorative monument, the stupa became again what it really was: the representation of the very Godhead. When the Mahayanist doctrine came on the scene, the image of the Buddha was carved on the monument. The symbol did not satisfy the faithful any longer, and divine iconography, more pleasing to the common mind, became more and more closely connected with the stupa.

The oldest stupa of which the foundations have survived until our time, seems to be that of Piprawa in the Basti district (Uttar Pradesh), dating from pre-Mauryan times. This stupa, built of large bricks, contained among other relics a piece of chased gold leaf representing a woman with all the features of a Mother Goddess, which might confirm our hypothesis regarding the origin of the stupa. If the inscriptions which were recovered are to be believed, these relics are of the Buddha Himself. The diameter of this stupa is about 115 feet, the height 23 feet.

Other stupas found near Lauriya-Nandangarh where a piece of gold leaf with the figure of a Mother Goddess was also found (figs. 6 and 7) appear from their shape to be contemporary with that of Piprawa. They would then belong to the period between the death of the Buddha and the Mauryan period, or between the 6th and 3rd centuries BC.

Asoka built very many stupas during his long reign, the most famous ones being those of Bharhut, Sarnath, Sanchi and Taxila. They were low and built in brick, provided with umbrellas and surrounded by *vedikas* in stone. These stupas have not survived in their primitive form because Buddhists gradually enlarged, modified and covered up the core. At the beginning of the Christian era or a little later, the carved gates, *toranas*, were added, their stonework covered with coloured plaster. The stupa of Sarnath exists no longer, for in the 17th century a raja had the unfortunate idea of using the stones and bricks to have a palace built for himself. The Sanchi complex, with its three main stupas, has been relatively well preserved and restored and gives us a very exact picture of how it was at the time of their construction. Stupa 2 appears to be the oldest, Stupa 3 the most recent. But the biggest and most complete stupa, with two ambulatories interconnected by double stairways, two *vedikas* and four *toranas*, which are reckoned among the most beautiful, is Stupa 1 which was probably built in several stages stretching between the 3rd century BC and the first years of the Christian era.

18. PART OF A VEDIKA, BHARHUT. The railing of the stupa of Bharhut was discovered by A. Cunningham in 1873 and transferred to the Calcutta Museum. Only fragments of the *vedika* are still in existence, with the east gate built fifty years later. The upright posts of this railing were decorated with carvings in low relief and medallions representing purely decorative motifs or scenes from the life of the Buddha or *Jatakas* (previous lives of the Buddha). The crosspieces and the upright posts of this *vedika* were fitted with pegs and grooves, thus copying previous techniques in wood. The upright posts carry numerous incised inscriptions. On the medallions the lotus or sun motifs appear regularly. The corners of the upright posts are decorated with human or animal figures, or with flowers. Sometimes houses also are represented. At the top, to the right, a half-medallion shows the Buddha's horse and his charioteer, Channa. The Buddha himself is not represented. Two *makaras* (mythical animals resembling the crocodile), back to back, serve as a decorative frieze; this motif is later used constantly in Indian decoration.

19. LOWER PART OF THE UPRIGHT POST OF A VEDIKA. The carving of this post must undoubtedly have represented a *yaksa*, or minor deity. Only the feet remain, seen in profile in the usual Bharhut style. They rest on four lions, back to back, again copied from the Sarnath capital. The feet of the lions are seen from the front but they are badly executed; the hair looks like feathers, the eyes are expressionless, and the animal looks altogether exhausted. The whole is clumsy, squat and badly proportioned. Only the memory of the model served for example and, rather than a faithful copy of the Sarnath capital, this representation is in reality a typically Indian re-creation. Although still visible here, these influences are nevertheless Indianised to such an extent that they have almost disappeared.

20. STATUE FROM A VEDIKA. It represents a *yaksi*, a feminine tree deity or, more probably here, a water deity, symbolising a stream, for she stands on a *makara* with rolled tail, probably the symbol for the Ganges. It is a votive pillar as the inscription testifies: "This pillar is the gift of the Reverend Kanaka..." This carving demonstrates in great profusion of detail the feminine fashion of the period, the hair-style and the way of wearing jewellery. A belt made of several pieces of metal was worn on top of a *dhoti* of some light material and held up by a second belt, tied in a knot, on top. Two large panels of cloth flowed freely in front. The arms and legs were decorated with rings and tight spirals; heavy necklaces hung from the neck, and on the forehead a round jewel could be seen, held up with hair ribbons. From the ears hung heavy coiled metal rings. The attitude of the woman is still somewhat rigid but already suggests a certain elegance which we find in later sculpture, manifested in the pose called the classical *tribhanga*, the triple flexion of the body. The face is expressionless and its features regular. The art is here formalistic and inexpressive. On the left of the pillar three medallions representing lotuses decorate the crosspieces of the *vedikasi* which are lenticular in cross section. Height 7 feet.

21. DHARMACAKRA. Here we see four worshippers, two men and two women, worshipping the Buddha in the form of one of his symbols: the *dharmacakra*, or Wheel of Rebirths. The two women kneel; near

one of them stands a tray with offerings. The men are standing, one of them carrying garlands, the other one, who has already hung his garlands up, praying with his hands folded. The *cakra* is mounted on a column with a bell-shaped capital and kneeling bulls. It already shows signs of decoration with lotus petals on the periphery. Later on, the *cakra* is confused with the lotus. The dress of the men is almost the same as that of the women except that the men wear a scarf around the neck and a turban, decorated with a big knot on the side. The massive ear rings distend the ear-lobes.

22. VRIKSINI. This one does seem to be a tree deity. She holds on to a branch with her uplifted right arm, just like the Buddha's mother giving birth. The details of the hair styles are clearer here: the women wear long tresses into which they have fixed flowers and leaves. The face is still expressionless; there are clear indications of tattooing, half-moons, ribbons and little diamonds. The hair is braided with two fillets of decorated material. As in present-day India, fashion seems to demand that women should have low foreheads. The custom of plaits still exists also. The breasts are here uncovered.

23. MEDALLION. This medallion represents a sun with, in its centre, a worshipper. This motif has been remarkably well executed; it has great freshness and is related to certain decorative compositions in Roman art.

24. MEDALLION. Head of a nobleman in the centre of a lotus flower. Note the details of the turban.

25. MRIGA JATAKA, or Jataka of the deer. A medallion representing an event from one of the previous lives of the Buddha. In this period the Buddha is never represented in the human form of his last incarnation, but always in the diverse forms he assumed in his numerous previous lives. In this medallion the treatment of the animals is more free, natural and spontaneous than that of the human beings. The water of the stream is curiously depicted by means of broken and undulating lines. The composition is pleasing, the volumes well arranged and, perhaps to give more unity to the whole, the medallion inclines to the right.

26. VIEW OF STUPA 2, SANCHI. This stupa is the oldest one at Sanchi and is contemporary with that of Bharhut. It is constructed of large stones and is less massive than the others. The upright posts and cross-pieces of the surrounding railing are adorned with decorative motifs of a rather archaic nature which are stylistically more closely related to the decoration of Bharhut than to that of the Great Stupa at Sanchi which comes later in time. The stupa lies on the slope of the "whale back" hill which also carries the other stupas, and faces west over the plain.

27. VIEW OF THE INSIDE OF THE RAILING OF STUPA 2. It is possible to distinguish the regularly arranged medallions on the uprights. The top railing is formed of pieces of stone joined together, and holds the upright posts of the *vedika* firmly together. The floor of the ambulatory was paved with large flat stone slabs.

28. EAST PILLAR, NORTH ENTRANCE TO STUPA 2. On top of this pillar two elephants on a lotus sprinkle a woman with water. In the centre a man and a woman appear to be in conversation. Below, a caparisoned elephant, guided by his mahout with his goad, tramples on a woman who has fallen on the ground. The style is more formalistic than at Bharhut, and the workmanship is not as careful....

29. SOUTH PILLAR, SOUTH ENTRANCE OF STUPA 2. Here we find in low relief the same motif as at Bharhut (Plate 19) but the feather-like hair of the Lions is straighter, which may indicate that this stupa is slightly earlier than that of Bharhut. We find the same decorative designs again surrounding the *dharmacakra*, the garlands, the flowers. But there is less ease of expression here than in the carvings of Bharhut.

30. GENERAL VIEW OF STUPA I, SANCHI. The core of the *anda* of this stupa was probably erected by Asoka. It was much smaller than the present one, about half the existing diameter, and it was built of bricks. It was probably hemispherical and had a raised terrace at the base and a wooden railing. The present structure was erected about a century later, thanks to individual donations. The name of each donor was engraved on the pillars of the *vedika*. The diameter is more than 130 feet, its height about 55 feet. A raised terrace, surrounded by a *vedika*, was then built round the base of the new stupa, as well as a *vedika* marking the inner ambulatory. The gateways, or *toranas*, were not built until later, in the second half of the first century BC, and their construction probably lasted until the first years AD. Originally the stupa was covered with stucco, painted with lively colours, black, red and gold. The *vedikas* are not ornamented; the *toranas*, on the other hand, are most profusely so. On top of the stupa a third, square *vedika* surrounds a stone shaft supporting three superimposed umbrellas. No relics have been found in this stupa and it is difficult to explain the existence at Sanchi of such edifices, since the Buddha had never been there.

31. NORTH GATEWAY, OR TORANA, OF STUPA I, SANCHI. The four *toranas* of this stupa are orientated to the cardinal points and are all built to the same

type, which manifestly derives from a previously existing wooden model. Similar gateways, but of a simpler type, must have decorated the entrances to villages and towns in older times. They are 40 feet high and 12 feet wide. Three horizontal architraves, interconnected by blocks of stone and railings, lie on top of two massive square pillars which terminate in a capital consisting of animals or dwarfs, placed back to back. All the faces of these *toranas* are profusely carved with scenes from the life of the Buddha, *Jatakas*, or even from the daily life of the period. The north gate, shown here, has two capitals in the form of elephants back to back. Two *vriksinis*, or female tree spirits, form the brackets at the ends of the architraves. The whole gateway is surmounted by two *triratnas* (a Buddhist symbol in the form of a trident), animals, some upright figures and, in the centre, a Wheel of the Law. The scenes on the carvings represent among other things the temptation of the Buddha by Mara, and his previous incarnations. This monumental gateway is the best preserved and also the most ornamented one of the four. There are numerous figures between the buttresses of the architraves. The supports of the architrave are ornamented with winged animal figures which are rounded in the centre and end in horizontal projections decorated with spirals and supporting animal figures. At the foot of this gate a Buddhist monk gives an indication of the height of the monument. In the foreground stands a little votive stupa.

32. WEST TORANA, SEEN FROM STUPA I. This is one of the most important *toranas* on account of the beauty of its decoration. The architraves are supported by capitals representing potbellied dwarfs. The scenes carved on the outer face represent the *Shaddanta Jataka*, the incarnation of the Bodhisattva as the elephant with six tusks, the seven incarnations of the Buddha, the Buddha preaching the first sermon at Sarnath, etc. The inner face, photographed here, depicts the episodes of the war of the relics (centre) and the temptation of the Buddha (below). It is possible to distinguish on the architraves representations of towns, warriors and horse-drawn chariots. The composition of the scenes is perfectly balanced and each figure is treated with individual attention. The winged animals and their position on the capitals still suggests influences from Persepolis and Mesopotamia.

33. EAST TORANA, STUPA I, DETAIL. Here we see the spiral forming the termination at the end of the architrave. Two peacocks facing each other, remarkable in their treatment, frame a charming family scene. A turbaned man, seated on a cushion, holds a woman on his knees who has a fly-whisk in her left hand while the man appears to be beckoning an animal which is probably a dog. Note the regularity of the composition and the careful detail. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

34. GATE GUARDIAN, STUPA I, SANCHI. The gate guardians, called *dvarapalas*, are extremely widespread in Indian inconography. As their name indicates, they are placed by the entrance of the sanctuary and are supposed to protect it from evil spirits, to frighten them and fight them if necessary. They are always armed. We can see from this figure the warrior outfit of the period. In his left hand he holds a spear. On his right hangs a quiver (the bow is not depicted here) and on his left arm he holds a sort of cape of coarse cloth. A wide necklace and multiple bracelets serve him as armour. His torso is naked, but a loin cloth of fine material covers his loins and legs. His hair style is characteristic of the period. He leans against a tree and seems to scan the horizon. His attitude is supple and natural and the treatment of the body is stylised. It really is the portrait of a man and not of some exceptional being; the observation of the proportions is remarkable and in this figure may be seen the apogee of a certain form of art.

35. DETAIL OF A CAPITAL, SOUTH TORANA, STUPA I, SANCHI. Here we find the lions again, a subject strongly reminiscent of the Sarnath capitals. But here their heads are different, more imaginative. They are surmounted by palmate designs of the same origin. The same influence is found again in the kneeling elephants facing each other, but their treatment is more purely local since the elephant was well known to the Indians whereas the lion was a foreign animal.

36. TORSO OF A YAKSI, SANCHI. This magnificent torso, discovered on the ground, excels the tree *yaksis* which have remained in position, suspended above the void, at the gates of Stupa I, by its happy proportions, its harmony of movement and the perfection of its modelling. It is one of the purest examples in Indian art of homage to feminine beauty. Its fully mature youthfulness has a freshness which is less opulent than that of the later female nudes: it could almost have been carved by a Greek who in his "religious paganism" was able to assimilate the indolence and the vegetal purity of India. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A. 1st century BC or AD. *Photograph: Museum of Fine Arts.*

37. BAS-RELIEF, NORTH GATEWAY, STUPA I, SANCHI. This relief represents faithful worshippers. At their feet an ascetic is seated in meditation against a tree. The composition of this panel is perfect and reveals curious details of the architecture current in the first century BC. Two types of houses are reproduced: one is a simple hut with a thatched roof (on the right), the other has a rounded roof decorated with an arched opening, or *kudu*. The

hut is surrounded by a wooden palisade of the same type as the one surrounding the stupa. The floor is paved with cobble-stones. Note the curious distribution of the windows of these houses. Only the back of these buildings can be seen. The little buildings must have been made of wood, covered with pounded earth and thatch. Two columns, with bell-shaped capitals and mounted with winged animals, frame this pious little scene. Below, and belonging to another relief, we see the roof of a house with a balcony which still seems ornamented, but this time with a series of arched windows. The wooden railing remains an indispensable feature.

38. BAS-RELIEF, NORTH PILLAR, SANCHI. This relief is immediately below the preceding one. In the upper part we see the roof of a huge house with two stories. Garlands hang from the columns of the first story as for a feast day. Flowering trees stand in front of the wall of the ground floor and men are praying and probably singing hymns. There is a child amongst them which, like present-day Indian children, wears nothing but a beaded belt around its hips.

39. BAS-RELIEF, NORTH GATEWAY, SANCHI. This relief represents the crossing of the Ganges by the Buddha, with (below) amazed worshippers. In the centre is a boat with the ferryman and passengers. The boat is rudimentary, made of pieces of bark fastened together. The waves are stylised. The trees, three on either side, symbolise the banks of the river. In one of them some monkeys are fighting. The artist has carved this scene with such precision that it is easy to recognise the kinds of trees on the river banks. The Buddha is not depicted. In the carvings of this period his presence was only suggested by means of his attributes, a tree, a throne, footprints, lotus flowers, etc. This scene, with its strict composition, demonstrates a highly developed sense of decoration and surprising skill.

40. DECORATIVE BAS-RELIEF, LEFT PILLAR, NORTH GATEWAY, SANCHI. This relief, of which we show the lower part, covers one whole side of the pillar. The same motifs of palmate designs and garlands repeated above and below here end with the footprints of the Buddha. To differentiate these footprints from those of other human beings, they carry the sign of holiness of their owner, the *dharmacakra*. In spite of the repetition of the motifs, the monotony is broken by the careful modification of the details by the carver without altering the arrangement of the motifs or of the whole relief.

Contrary to what has been thought for a long time about the date of the carvings on the railings of Bodh Gaya, these are now believed to be later than the *toranas* of Stupa I, Sanchi, even though their style seems related to older works. According to recent work by Philippe Stern and Jeannine Auboyer, on the connections between ivories found at Begram (present-day Afghanistan) and sculpture of India, it appears, in fact, from the evidence of different details of feminine dress, notably the hair styles, that the medallions of this railing are copies of older wooden works which may have been later in date than the construction of the Sanchi *toranas*. That is why we place the illustrations of this railing at the end of the Sunga-Kanva dynasties.

41. UPRIGHT POST OF A VEDIKA, OR BASE OF A COLUMN, BODH GAYA. The shaft is supported here by a base in the shape of a pot with, around the neck, the open lotus motif. The upright figure of a woman stands on a bracket of the octagonal shaft. Her hair style is clearly different from the one with wide fillets in the Bharhut or Sanchi reliefs. Even her dress is slighly different.

42. MEDALLION. This is the classical type of medallion showing a head which we have already seen at Bharhut and Sanchi, but it seems less perfect; the petals vary and are badly carried out. The head, on the other hand, seems to be more expressive and less formalistic.

43. MAKARA MEDALLION. This *makara*, or mythical crocodile, has four feet here, whereas previously it had only two, its rear end being then more or less in the form of a fish tail. The *makara* with four legs in fact appears only later in Indian art which would tend to confirm the date of the art of Bodh Gaya as being after Sanchi and before the Mathura period.

44. MEDALLION WITH MONSTER. According to the remarkable researches of Philippe Stern the monsters with moustaches do not appear until much later, nor does the pearl framing, which again supports his hypothesis. Perhaps this railing is even later and should be dated at the beginning of the Gupta period. It is not unlikely but still requires more evidence.

C. The Caves

The second form of architecture which seems to have made its appearance in India is that of man-made caves, excavated horizontally from the steep rock faces along the streams of the Western Ghats. We saw that the oldest examples of these caves are found in a different part of India, in Bihar. Towards the 2nd century BC several series of excavations began simultaneously in Orissa and in western India. Those of Bihar, which were done for some Jaina sects, took but little time, only until the 2nd century AD, whereas the work at the caves in the west continued until the 9th century. The oldest ones of these are Buddhist, the most recent ones Brahman or Jaina.

These caves belong to two distinctive types: the sanctuaries, or *caityas*, and the monasteries, or *viharas*. The former consisted of a vaulted, rectangular nave which ran into a semi-circular apse with a stupa, called *dagoba*, rising up from carved rock in the centre. On either side of the nave a row of columns forms a gallery. The entrance of the *caitya* has more or less decorated, horseshoe-shaped doors and windows. The similarity of the shapes of these internal structures and of the façades with those of wood constructions is striking. To accentuate the resemblance even more, the *caityas* have stone arches, and the low ceilings of the recesses have unmistakable imitations of beams and rafters. Certain details of wood architecture, such as tenons, mortises and joints are faithfully copied in stone although they serve no function whatsoever. As architecture evolves, the façade arch, which originally broadened towards the base, contracts more and more until the ends almost meet in a circle, and its blind windows, with their carved trellis work imitative of wooden screens, increase in number. Later on, the arches become one of the most important architectural and ornamentative features, not only in the caves but also in the more evolved architectural forms such as the temples. They are called *kudus*.

The second type of cave, the *vihara*, develops in a parallel manner, its point of departure being the single, rectangular cella with a level ceiling supported by columns. All round this room, doors give access to little cells, some provided with a sort of stone bed. At the end of the hall, a Buddha in a niche presides, or did at least in the later periods, over the initiation of the monks assembled there. The ground-plan of the *vihara* remains notably the same through the ages, only becoming more complex by the addition of ornamented columns and sometimes of two or three stories built on top of it.

All the caves were decorated with frescoes depicting scenes of the previous lives of the Buddha (Jatakas) or scenes of the contemporary life of the artists who fashioned them. Those which adorn the walls of the caves of Ajanta are counted among the great masterpieces of world painting; but they are valuable to us on more than one count, for they help us to reconstruct the customs of the period and they reveal details of clothes, jewellery and houses of the time.

Why did first the Buddhists, and subsequently other sects, excavate these caves to house their sanctuaries and their monks instead of constructing buildings? This is still an enigma. The builders knew neither the art of carving in stone, nor that of putting up complicated scaffolding. The real reason was undoubtedly of a religious nature. While they acted thus the Faithful may have thought themselves to be making something which could withstand the centuries, as durable as the mountain itself. And finally, the places they chose, which today seem so remote, situated in desolate areas, must have held a very numerous population. The labour necessary for the excavations was provided by the surrounding villages, as were the alms and gifts necessary to maintain the monks, and not far from the caves there must have been flourishing villages or even cities: nothing remains, since even the kings lived in palaces of wood and earth. The caves were a collective work, excavated not by specialists but by the goodwill of monks and lay people, evidently under the direction of the master carpenters of the period, the only people who knew the art of building. Logically, they copied faithfully the interior of wooden sanctuaries and *viharas* of the area. They were unable to adapt their forms and technique to the new medium and built the interior parts in wood, as also the portals with their supporting beams fitted in

holes, made for this purpose, in the stone of the façade. Later the portals were also carved in stone.

The ancient caves in the west are all Buddhist and were excavated between the 2nd century BC and the 2nd century AD. Some of them were later decorated with paintings and even carved again to satisfy the taste of the followers of the new doctrine, Mahayana Buddhism. The caves are relatively little decorated and the stupa of the *caitya* remains a bare symbol. The pillars, on the other hand, at first massive, now show a tendency towards refinement and multiplication, and the capitals, ornamented with animal figures, move away more and more from the Persian prototype. The animals are no longer always back to back, human figures are added and they no longer have a supporting function. Their survival is a purely decorative matter. One of the oldest *caityas* is situated at Bhaja (fig. 10); it probably dates from the second century BC. The pillars which divide the nave incline slightly inwards. The hall is 60 feet long, 28 feet wide and more than 20 feet high. The vault was supported by wooden ribbing.

Other very important caves are situated at Kondane, Ajanta (caves 9 and 10), Dunnar, Bedsa and Karli. The *caitya* of Karli is incontestably the most characteristic of them all, as well as being the largest (135 feet by 50 feet by 50 feet). It has two stories and galleries lit through ornamented windows. The pillars marking the aisles are octagonal and their base is in the shape of a flower vase. In front of the façade of this remarkable monument stand two columns of Persian influence supporting lions back to back, and a *cakra* (fig. 10).

The *caitya* at Kanheri seems to be the last belonging to this Hinayana period. It is a replica of that at Karli but with an additional stone railing in front of the façade (Plate 55) and surrounding the entrance to the courtyard, which imitates the railings of the stupas (square upright posts and mortised lenticular cross-pieces).

At Udayagiri and Khadagiri, near Bhuvanesvar in Orissa, Jaina monks excavated a large number of caves in the sandstone hills. In spite of their antiquity they are far less interesting than those discussed above. Their layout is more simple; they are not as huge and do not contain a *caitya*. One of them (Rani-Gumpha) has two stories and is built around a courtyard which is open to one side. Friezes ornament the walls of this particular cave of which the general

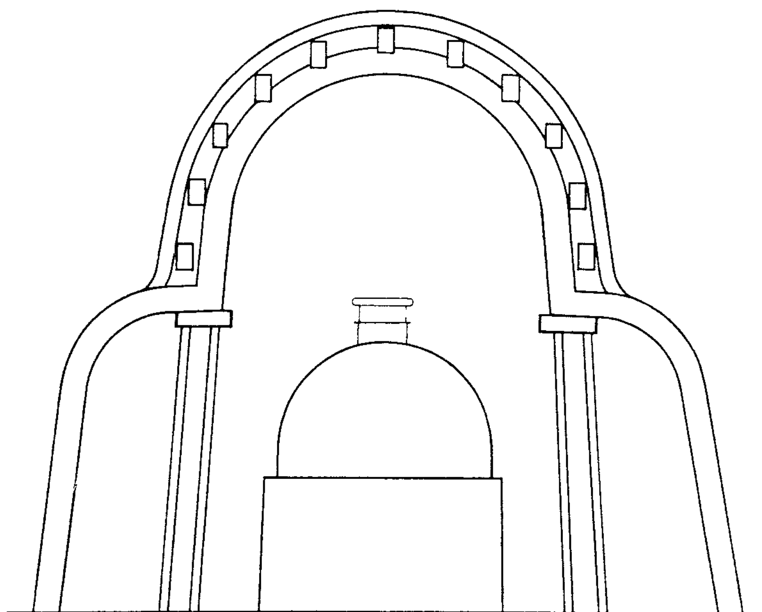


FIG. 8. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE CAITYA OF BHAJA (PLATE. 45), SHOWING THE DAGOBA

shape is reminiscent of a theatre (Plate 53). A notable and interesting detail is provided by the capitals of the pillars of certain caves which are decorated with projections which resemble tree branches and are decorated in low relief (Plate 51).

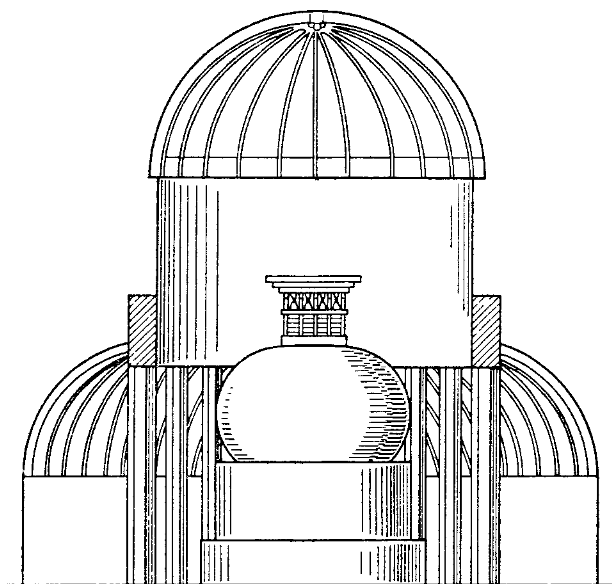


FIG. 9. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF CAITYA 9, AT AJANTA, SHOWING THE INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE PART CONTAINING THE DAGOBA AND THE APSE (PLATE 48)

45. BHAJA. Entrance of the *caitya*. The caves of Bhaja, situated in the foothills of the Western Ghats, are among the most ancient ones. The cave depicted here is also one of the largest. It has a rectangular nave with an apse; 27 simple octagonal columns, without base or capital, delimit the aisles. The facade, now collapsed, had a wide horseshoe-shaped arch which in later monuments contracts at the base and is also used on a smaller scale as a repetitive ornamental motif, the *kudu*. The columns lean slightly inwards. The façade is decorated by means of arches and railings, *vedikas*, carved in low relief. 2nd century BC. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

46. ORNAMENTATION, GREAT CAITYA, KARLI. These two figures undoubtedly represent donors. Note the opulence of the figures and, although the execution of this group is rather unskilled, the plastic feeling of the carving. It is certainly the portrait of living people. The carefully represented details give us information about the dress of people of the period. About 2nd century BC. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

47. VIEW OF THE COLUMNS OF CAVE 10, NASIK. Slightly more recent than the preceding ones, the Nasik caves, north of Bombay, are especially characterised by the columns with which they are adorned. These columns have a short shaft, a large "flower-vase" shaped base, and, most notably, an extremely curious composite capital. On top of the smooth, bell-shaped capital a little cushion may be distinguished which is still encased within a square

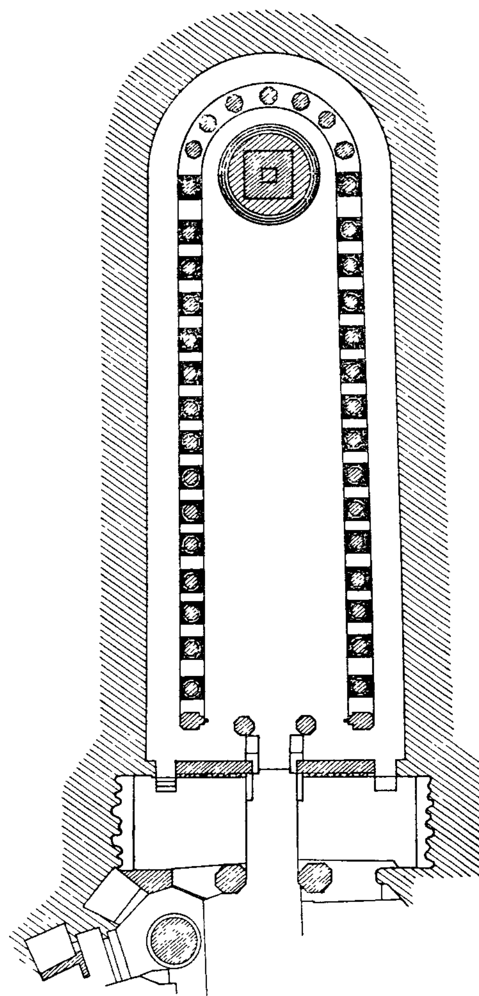


FIG. 10. GENERAL PLAN OF THE LARGE CAITYA AT KARLI (PLATE 46), SHOWING THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF A CAITYA

framework. This cushion forms the necessary transition from the bell to the elephants, bulls or lions which no longer support the architrave and are now as it were embossed and serve merely as a decorative motif. *Photograph: India Office.*

48. FAÇADE OF CAITYA 9, AJANTA. Approximately 1st century BC. The treatment of the façade is simple with, as its central motif, a large arch and balcony which imitate the technique of the wood structure of the *vedika*. The entrance is flanked by two windows and topped by a row of five little grilled arches which are supported by pillars of a simple design; from the capitals project struts in the form of quarter-circles which support a stone porch. The great arch is beginning to be designed with a more contracted base; behind it, blind windows of the same shape fill the space which until now has remained bare. It seems that in this period the construction of horseshoe-shaped façades achieved a certain maturity, for their equilibrium and regular composition make them into imposing

works of art. The lay-out of the interior of the sanctuary is rectangular whereas the colonnade which separates the nave from the aisles stands round the *dagoba*, forming a sort of apse. The ceiling of the aisles is level. The octagonal columns are vertical and have neither base nor capital.

49. VIEW OF THE ENTRANCE OF THE CAVES OF UDAYAGIRI, ORISSA. These caves are here called *gumpha*. There are about thirty-six, sixteen excavated from the hill of Udayagiri, the others in a hill called Khandagiri, a few hundred yards away. These caves were cut by Jainas, mostly in the last centuries BC and first centuries AD. None of them have a *caitya* nor a sanctuary, but only a sort of *vihara* with small, oblong cells opening on to the pillared galleries. The coarse sandstone of these hills did not allow for fine carving and the majority of the sculpture decorating these *gumphas* is crude and sometimes clumsy. Some of the caves are very primitive, others more elaborate. They seem to be scattered a little haphazardly and they are connected by paths and staircases simply cut from the rock. The cells often have a sloping floor for sleeping on. Some of them had wooden or stone verandas.

50. HATHI GUMPHA, UDAYAGIRI. This cave seems to be the oldest one of the series. A few cells give on a gallery where crude pillars support the overhanging rock. The entrance is guarded by two elephants and a *dvarapala* carrying a spear. The brackets of the columns of the veranda are curiously decorated with statuettes of men and women resembling figureheads. On either side of the gallery, above the *dvarapala*, a kneeling bull is carved. There were originally five pillars, square at the base and top and octagonal in the middle.

51. DETAIL, HATHI GUMPHA. One side of the entrance to a cell. This detail gives a good impression of the type of wood construction which existed at the time. The upper story recedes from the ground floor and is surrounded by a railing. The whole building is protected by a barrier enclosing a courtyard within which a tree grows. A worshipper with his hands joined functions as a bracket and appears to support the low relief. He has a bird's tail and wings and is a sort of *kinnara* or mythical bird which recurs in Buddhist as well as Jaina folklore. The pillar on the right carries a lion on top and also an animal difficult to identify, probably a kneeling bull.

52. MANCAPURI GUMPHA, UDAYAGIRI. Entrance to a cell. All the cells of Udayagiri are surmounted, not by a horseshoe arch, as in the caves in the west, but by a semi-circular arch, more or less decorated with flowers and usually flanked on either side by human figures or animals, in this case elephants. Wooden awnings which have now disappeared were added to the rock overhanging the cell. The entrances to the cells were low: no shafts or windows light it.

53. GENERAL VIEW, RANI GUMPHA, UDAYAGIRI. This cave is certainly the most remarkable one of the whole group, both in its dimensions and in being set out around a courtyard. It has two stories which open into galleries. The stone veranda of the lower floor has collapsed, carrying its supporting pillars with it in its fall. The lay-out is reminiscent of a theatre and it is almost certain that this cave and its courtyard must have served as an assembly place for Jaina monks, something like a temple. On the extreme right, on the first floor, a sort of stone throne may have been the seat for the Superior of the community during ceremonies. Outside are simple cells for monks to rest in and other rooms, which probably served for preparations for the cult, are dug out of the sides. The first floor is connected with the courtyard by means of a staircase.

54. RANI GUMPHA. An aristocratic hunter (his horse, behind him, is led by a groom) hunts a winged deer in the forest with bow and arrow. But when he is close to his goal a female apparition, seated on a tree, appears to stop him with a gesture and protect the poor animal, now at her feet. This is a beautiful example of Orissan sculpture in which, despite the lack of detail, the attitudes appear at ease and sometimes even graceful. The linear arrangement in panels relates the composition to the oldest frescoes discovered at Ajanta in *caitya* 10.

55. ENTRANCE OF THE GREAT CAITYA, KANHERI. This sanctuary lies at the approach to a group of hills which contain more than a hundred caves, not far from Bombay. This *caitya* is remarkable for its dimensions and particularly for its façade which lies behind a courtyard shut off by a railing. A gallery with enormous square columns, covered with inscriptions, constitutes a vestibule. The columns of the galleries are smaller but there are more of them. On either side of the interior of the vestibule a gigantic, upright Buddha statue, later in date than the cave, decorates the wall. The two exterior columns, massive and scarcely detached from the rock, seem to consist of two parts: the column proper, with a pot-shaped base and a capital decorated with lions (these are not back to back) and dwarfs, and a very tall, shaft-like, octagonal base, projecting from a square socle which bears some resemblance to a *harmika* or reliquary. This socle is decorated with *yaksa* figures in a style which is very close to that of the carvings which decorate the *caitya* of Karli (Plate 46). The railing, or *vedika*, which encloses the courtyard is reminis-

cent of the *vedikas* surrounding the stupas; they show the same architectural features and decorative motifs. At the base, dwarf and medallion motifs alternate; above are animal friezes and finally the *vedika* proper with, on its pillars, naga figures which appear to be guarding the entrance to the sanctuary. The courtyard must have been covered with some sort of wooden awning: the holes which undoubtedly served to hold the rafters are still visible. This part has now completely disappeared. On the left a little sanctuary, cut out later, contains a *dagoba* with a carved, seated Buddha figure (5th century).

56. INTERIOR OF THE GREAT CAITYA, KANHERI. It is rectangular in shape, prolonged by a semi-circular apse. The pillars are not all of the same type. Near the entrance they have a vase-shaped base and a carved capital with animal figures. A little further on, the base disappears and, then, the capital also. Finally nothing remains but the octagonal shafts of the pillars surrounding the *dagoba*. The *dagoba* itself bears no decoration, but holes in its base allow the supposition that a wooden terrace was once attached to it.

57. DETAIL OF A CAPITAL, KANHERI. Although of foreign inspiration, this type of capital differs profoundly from its original model and shows purely Indian characteristics. The animals no longer support the architrave but are only a pretext for decoration (Plate 49). Some figures have been added, as in the charming scene where a man is helping a woman to climb on the back of a kneeling elephant. The attitudes are true to life and the faces expressive. The cushion is only starting to get away from the cubic form (Plate 47) and seems to be flattened under the weight it supports. Beading forms the transition between the bulb and the superimposed square capital.

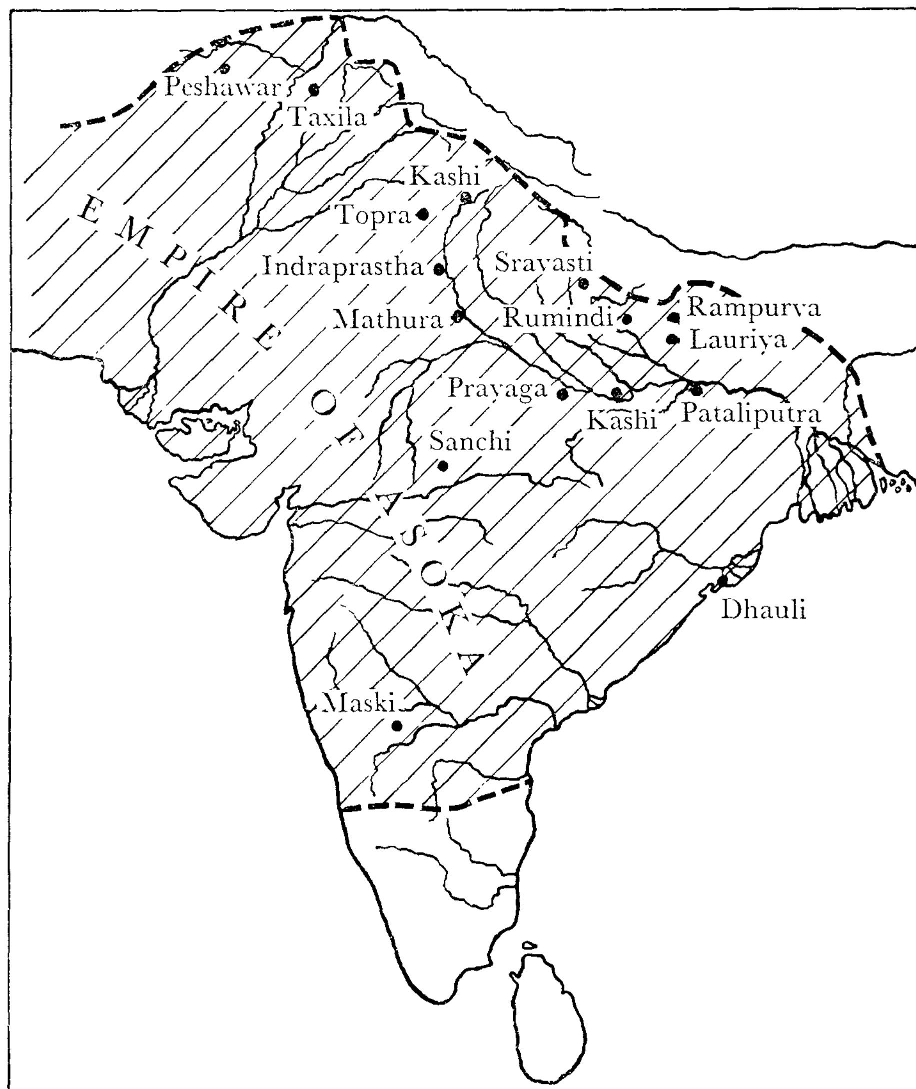
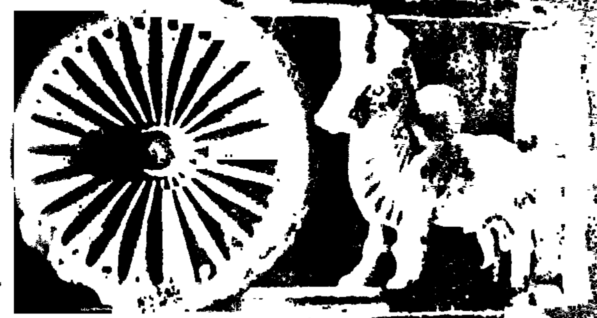
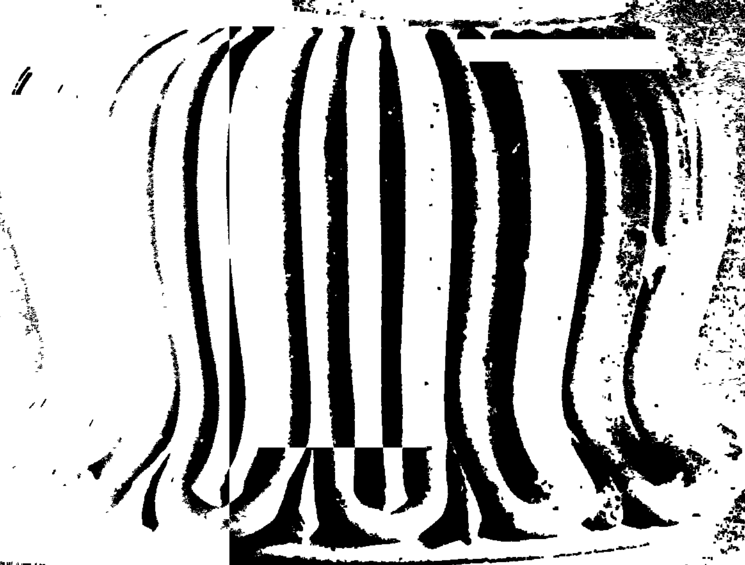
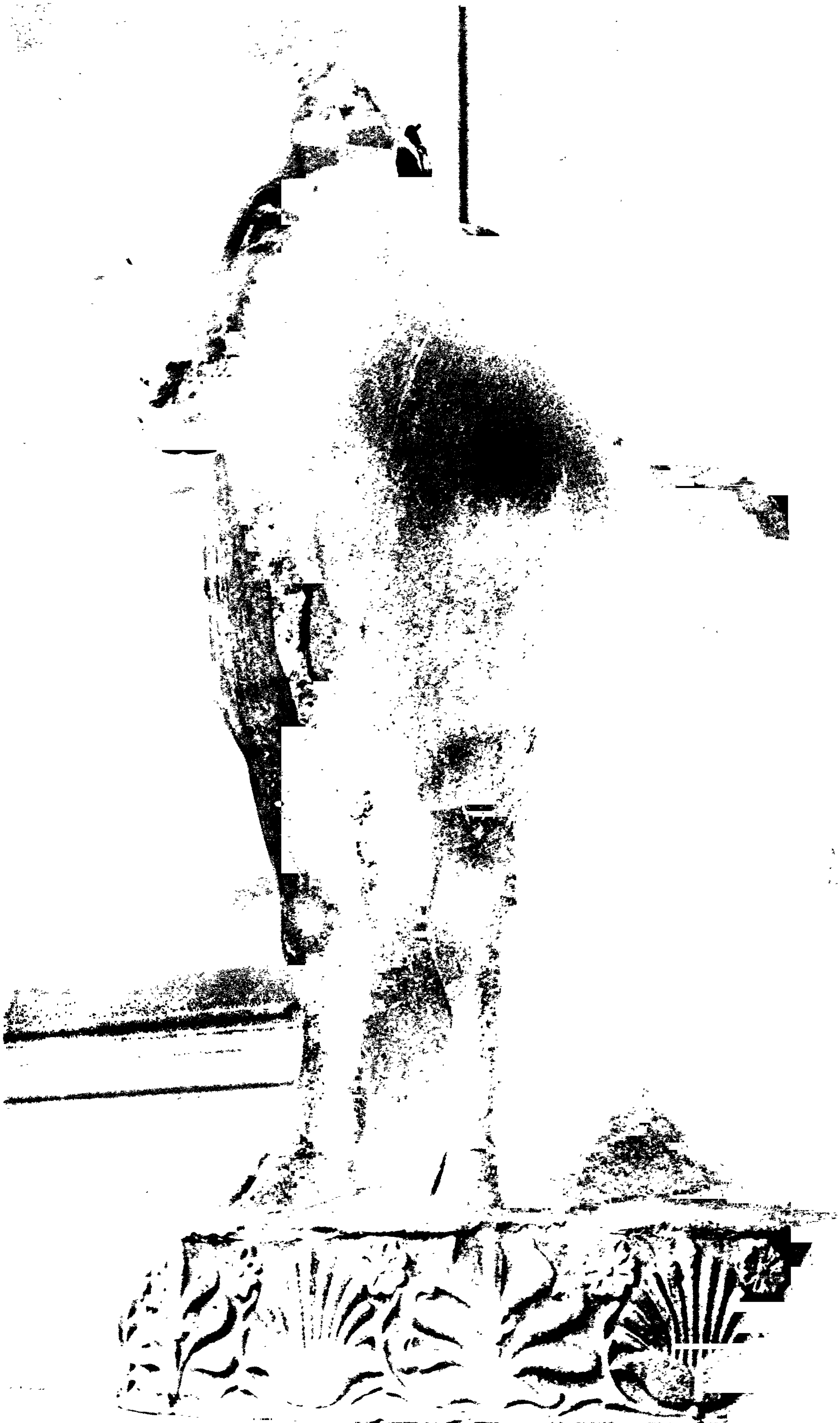


FIG. 11. INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR ASOKA (APPROXIMATELY 250 BC). THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

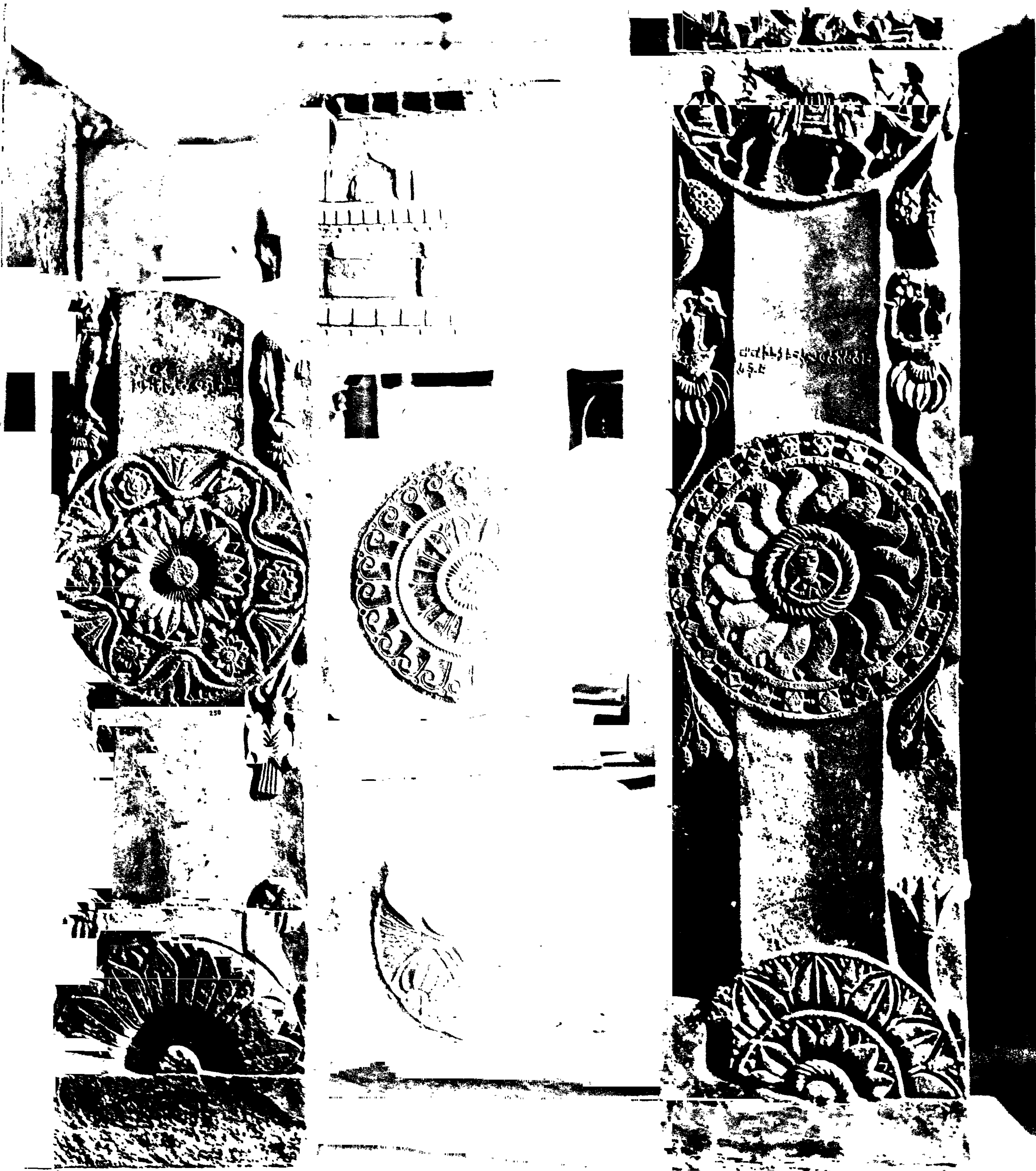


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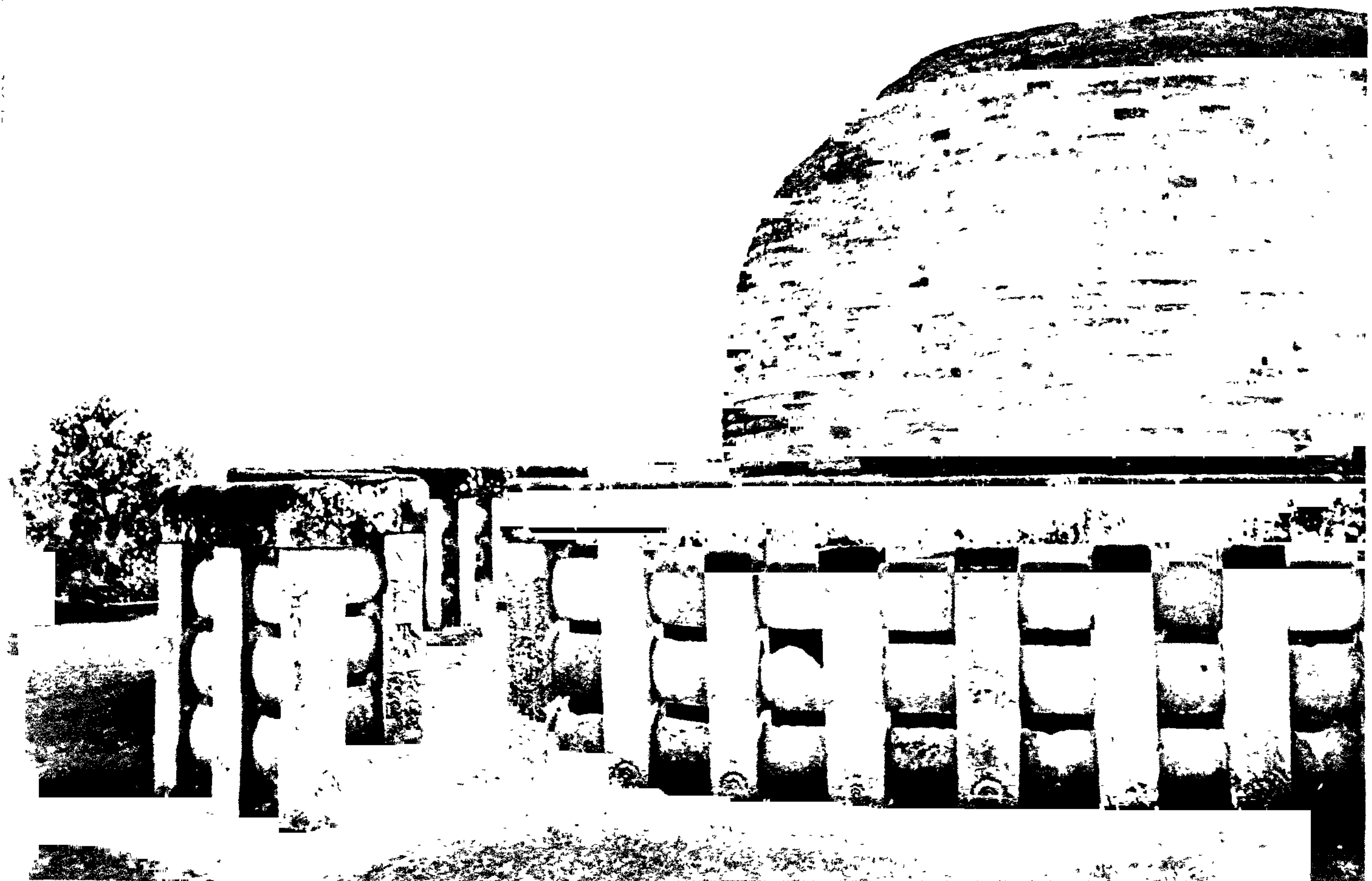
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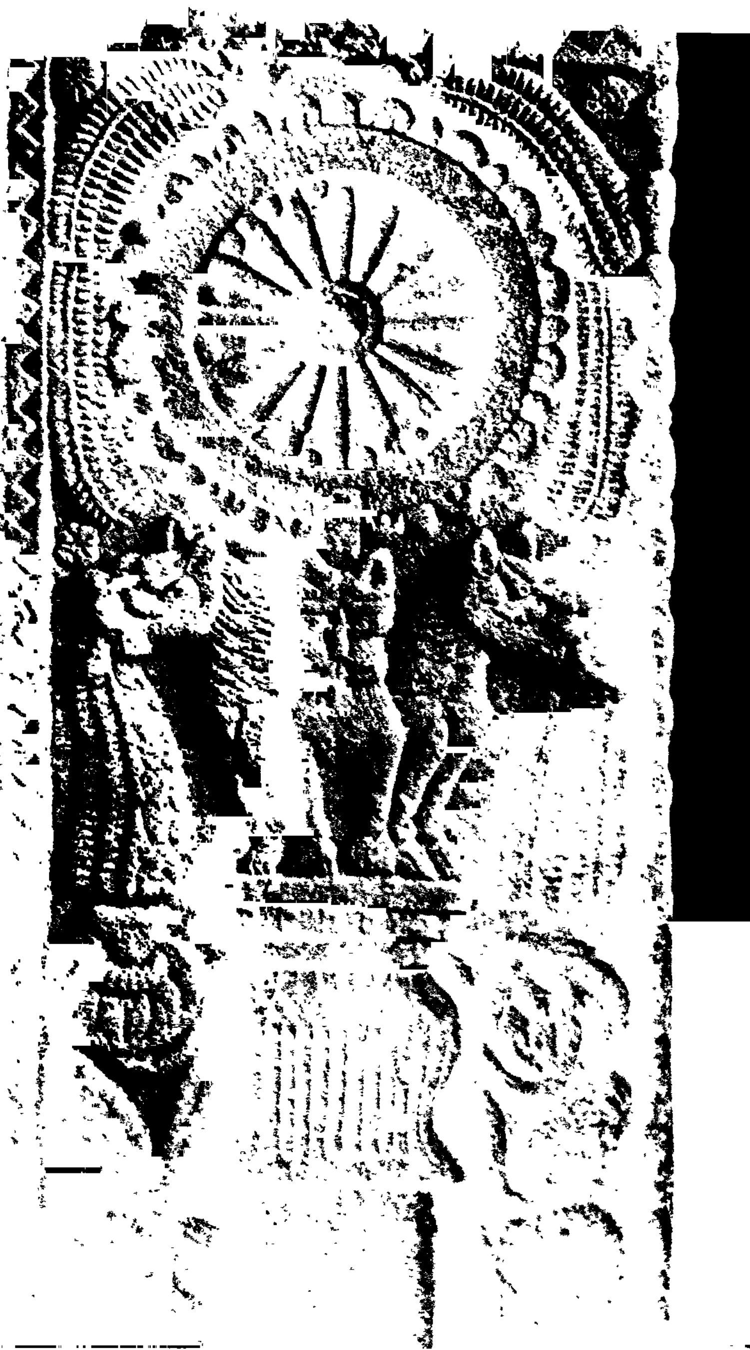


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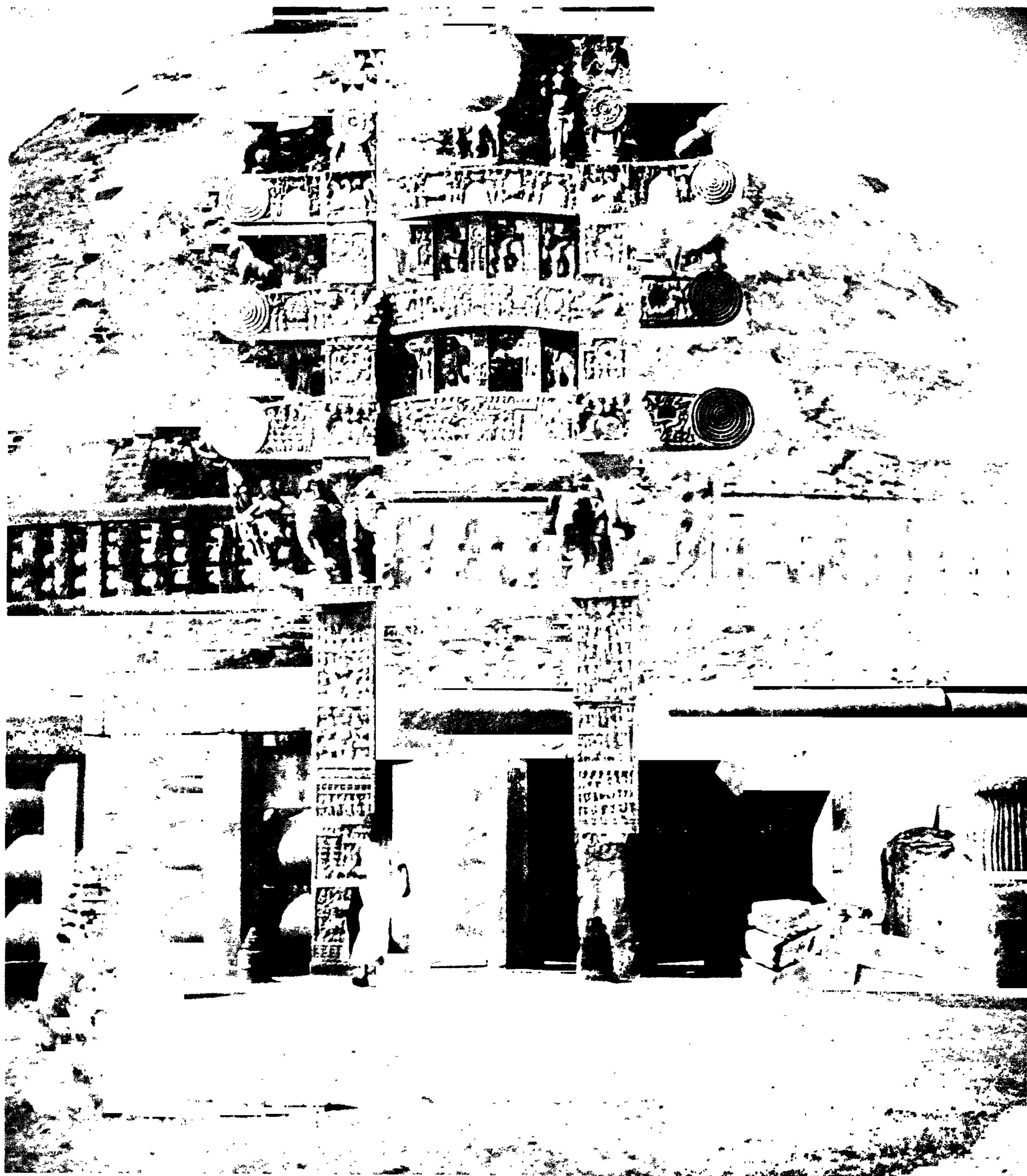
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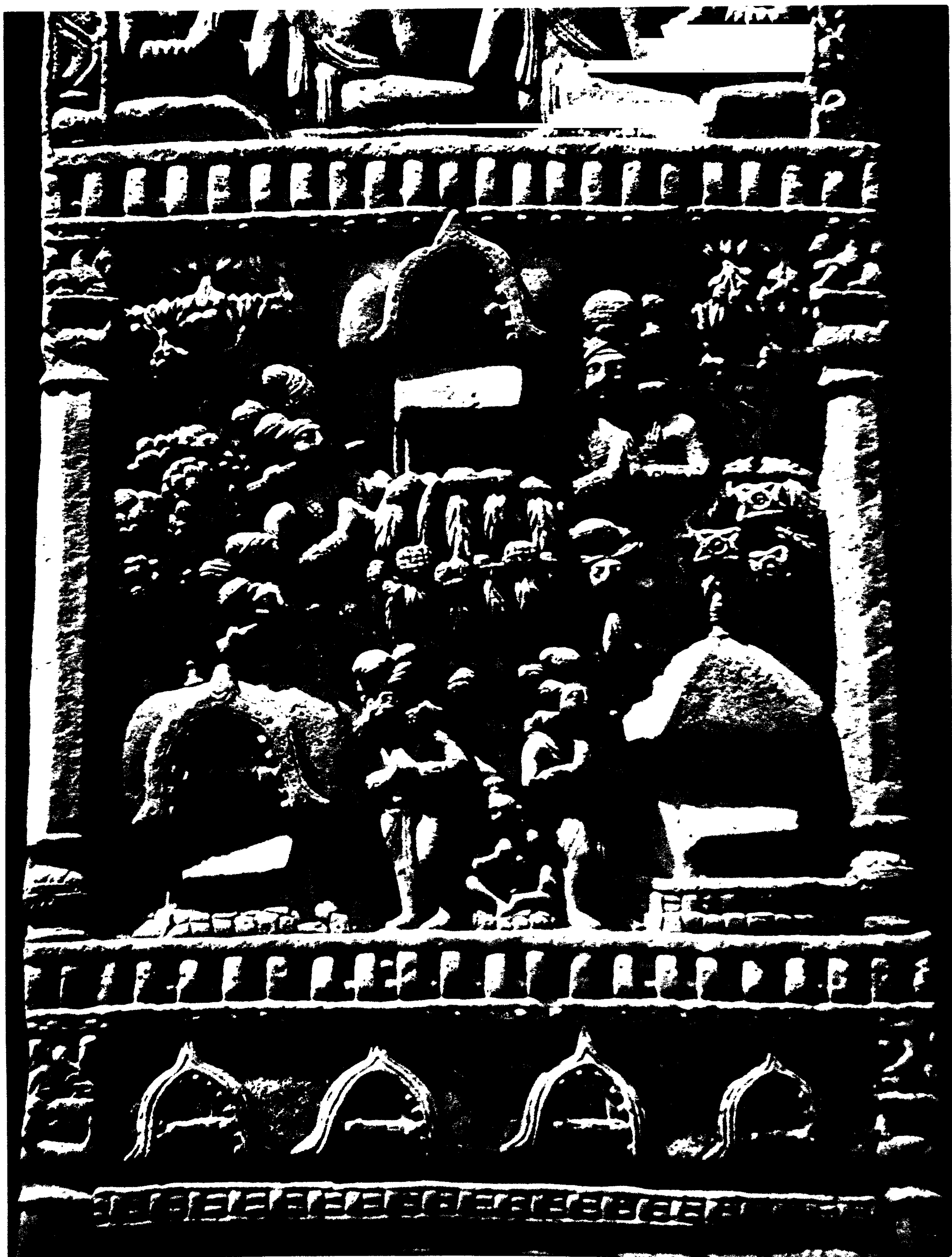


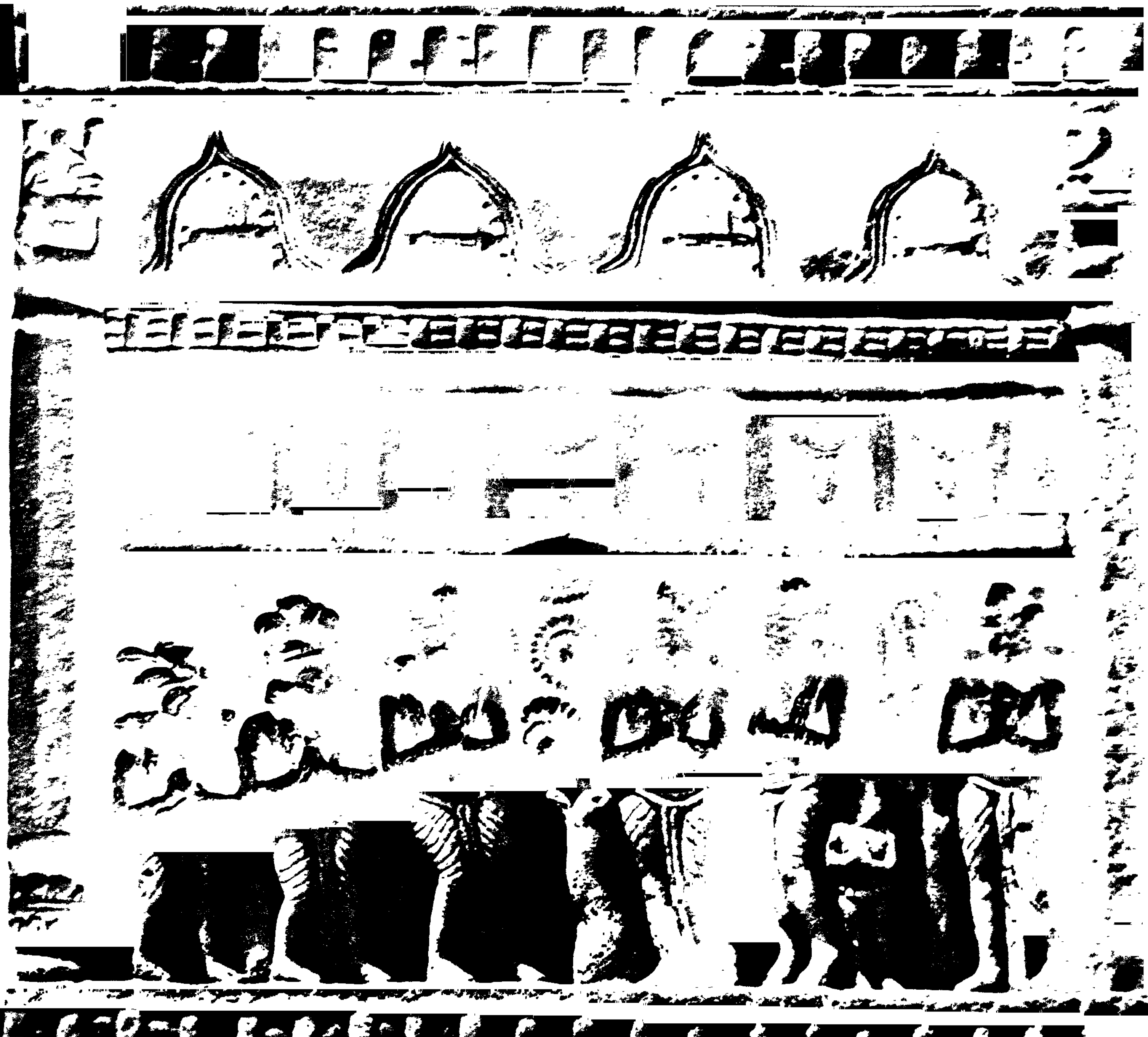
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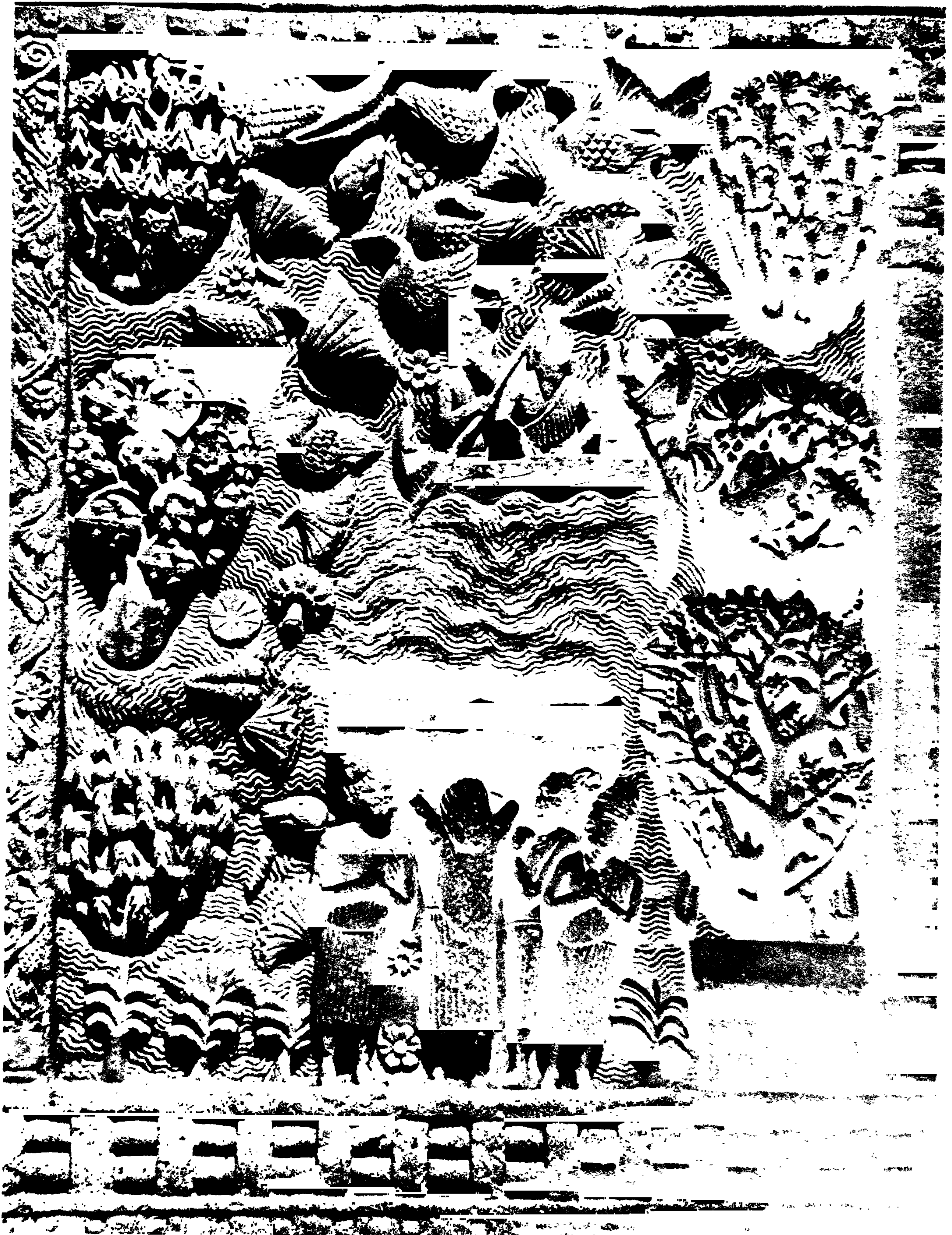
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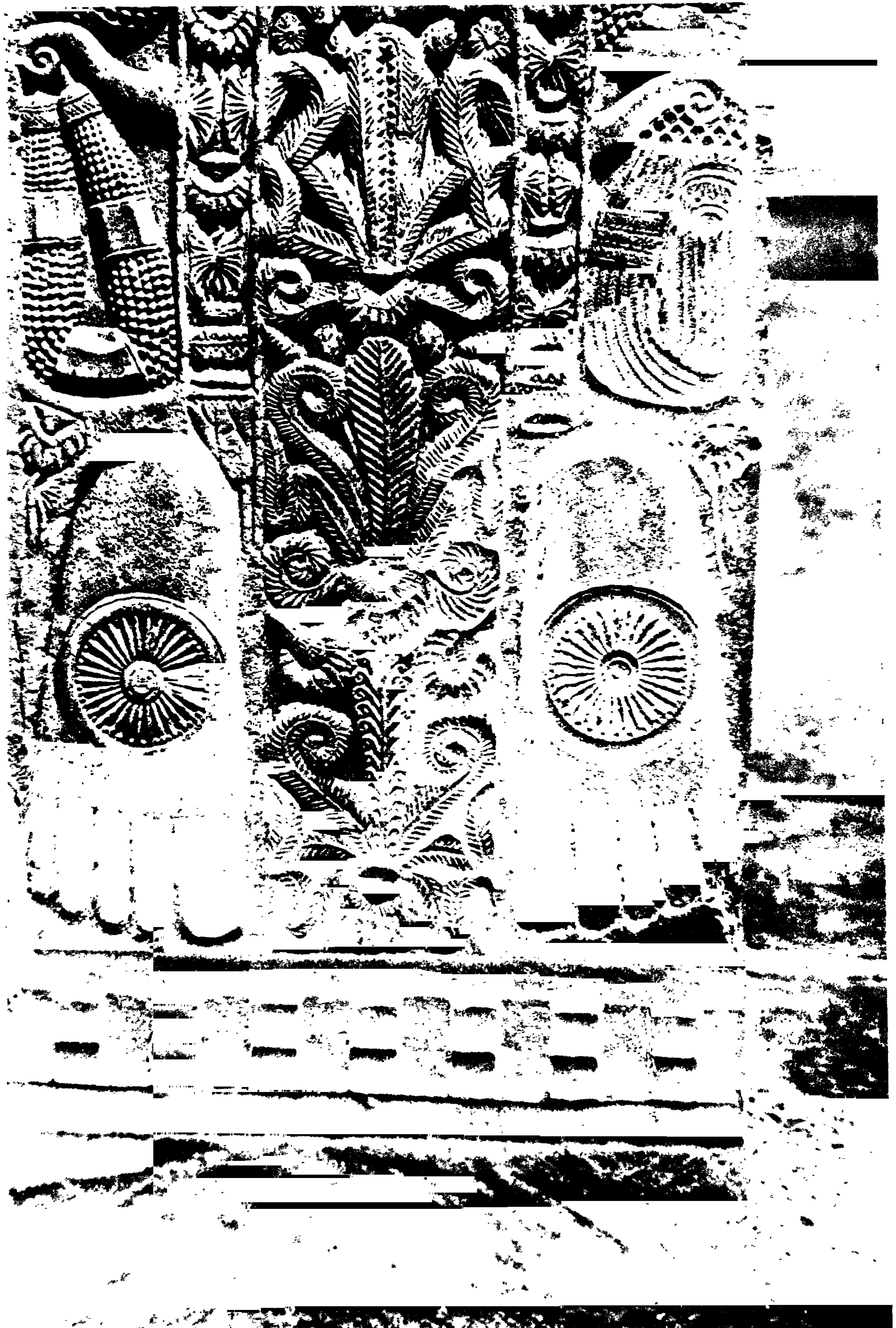


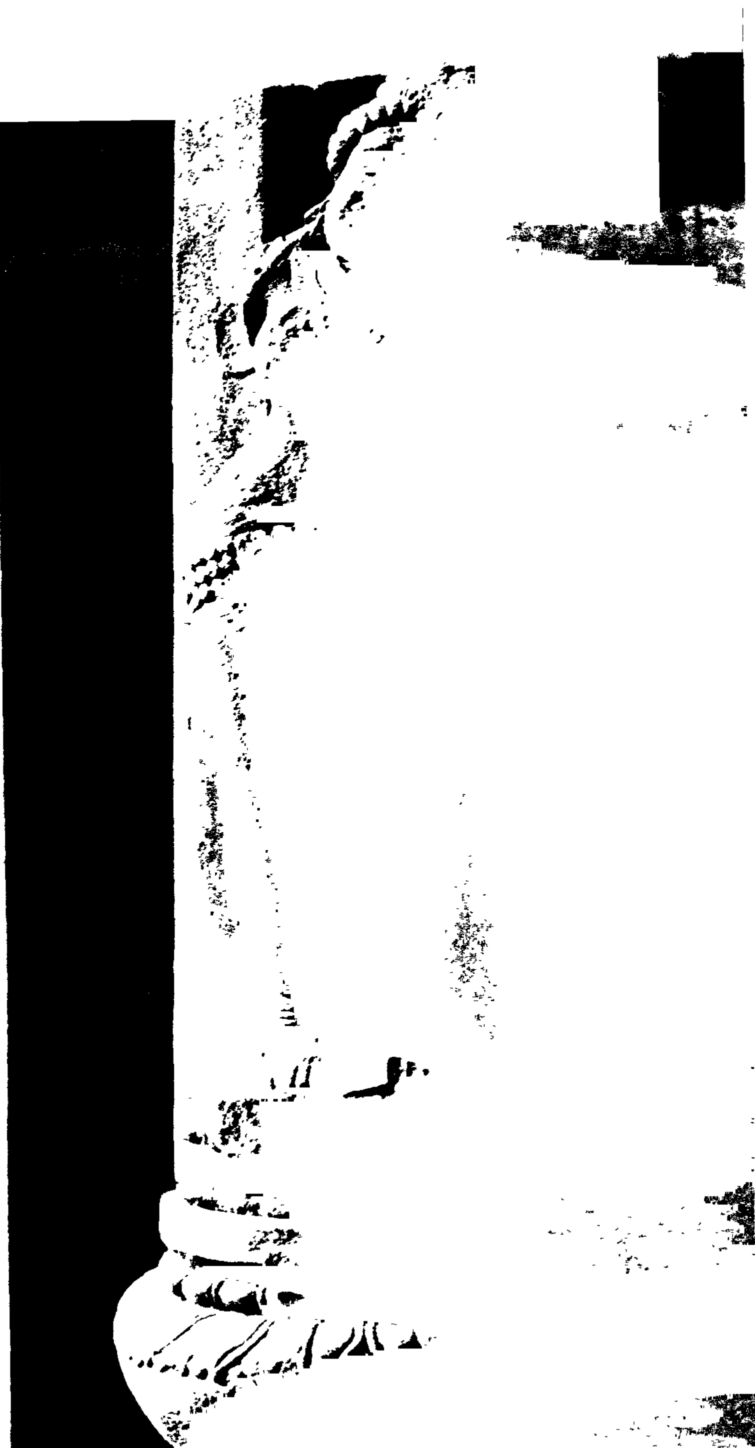


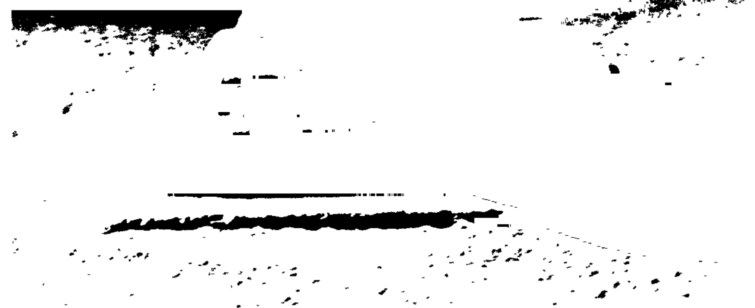
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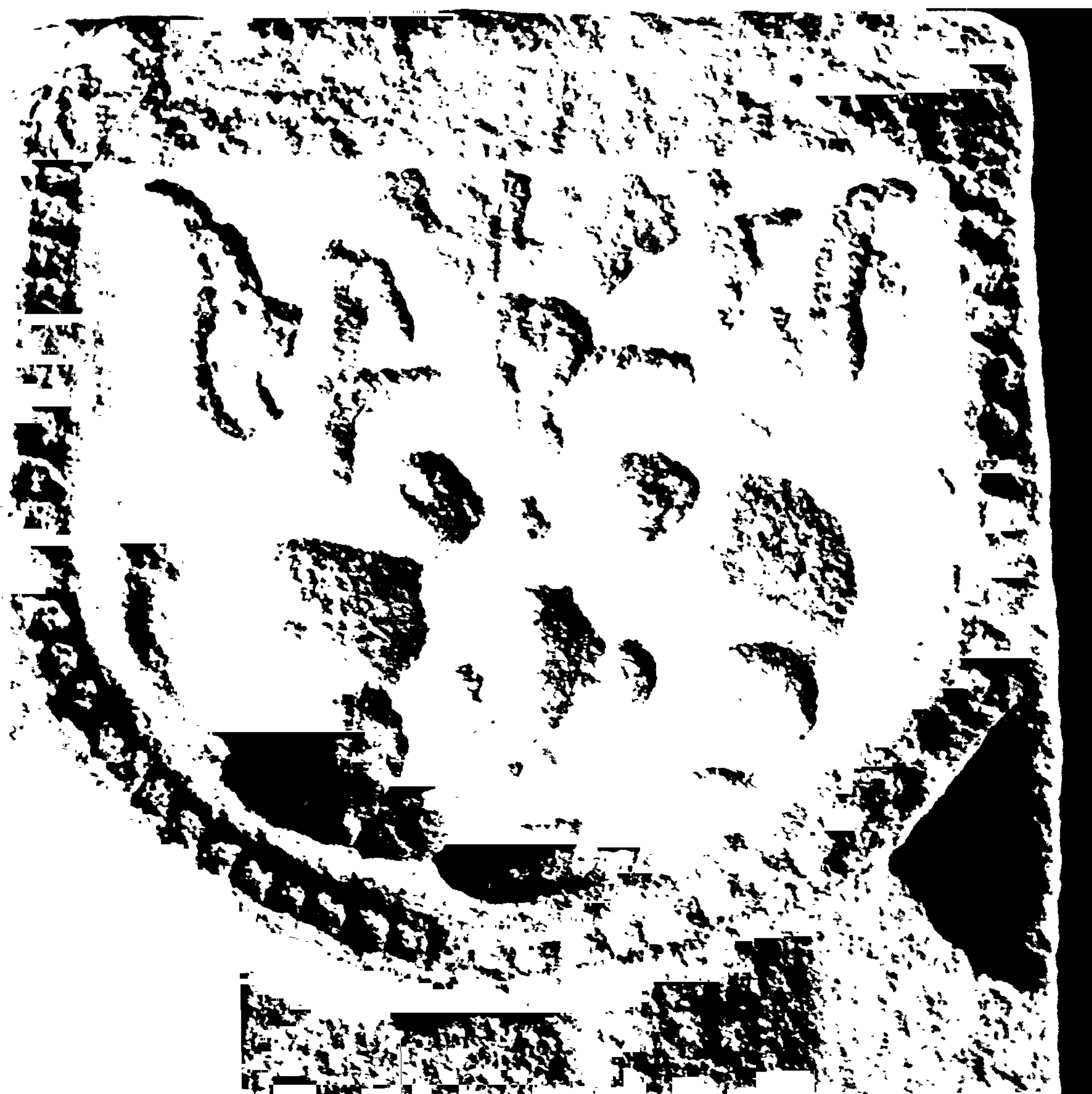
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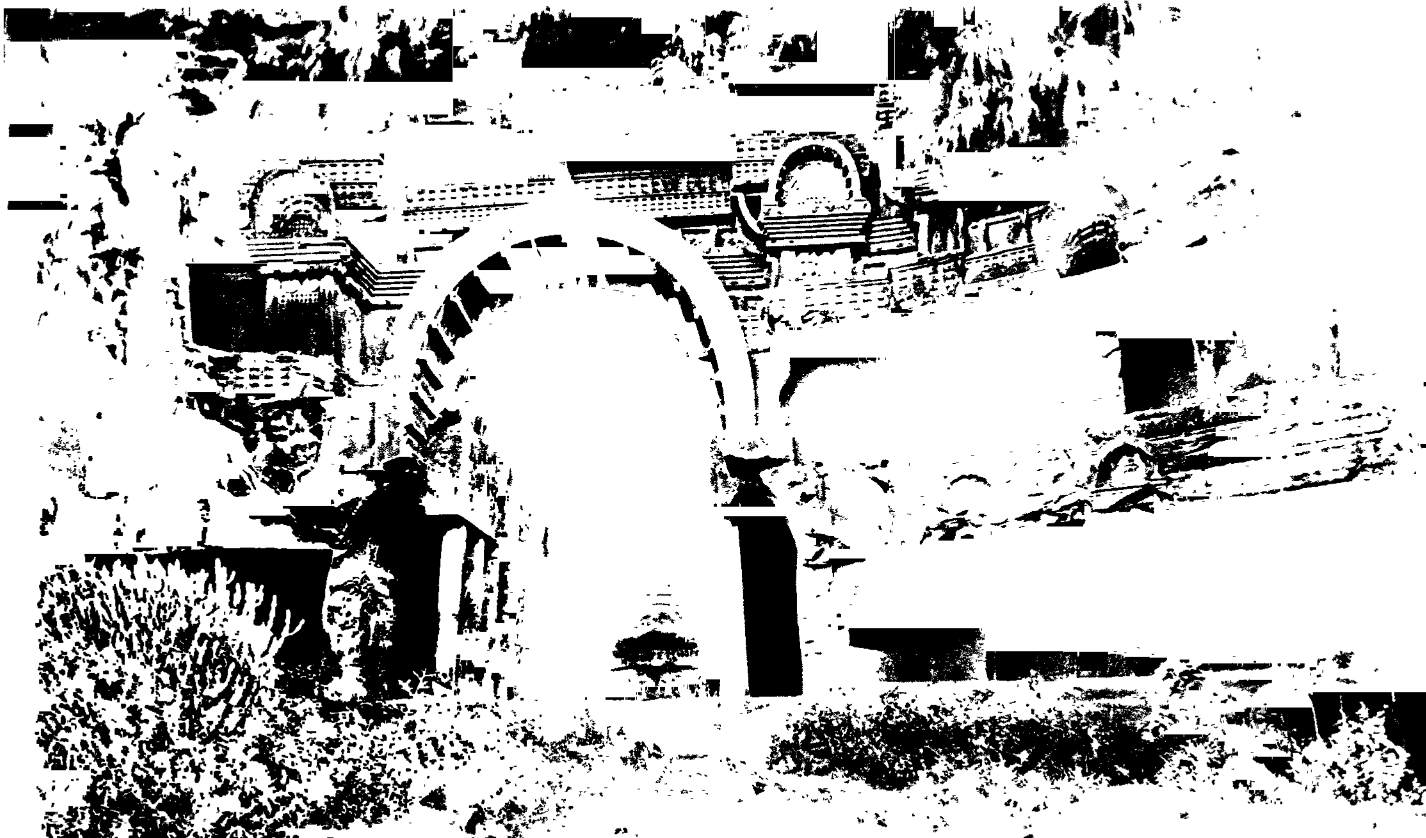
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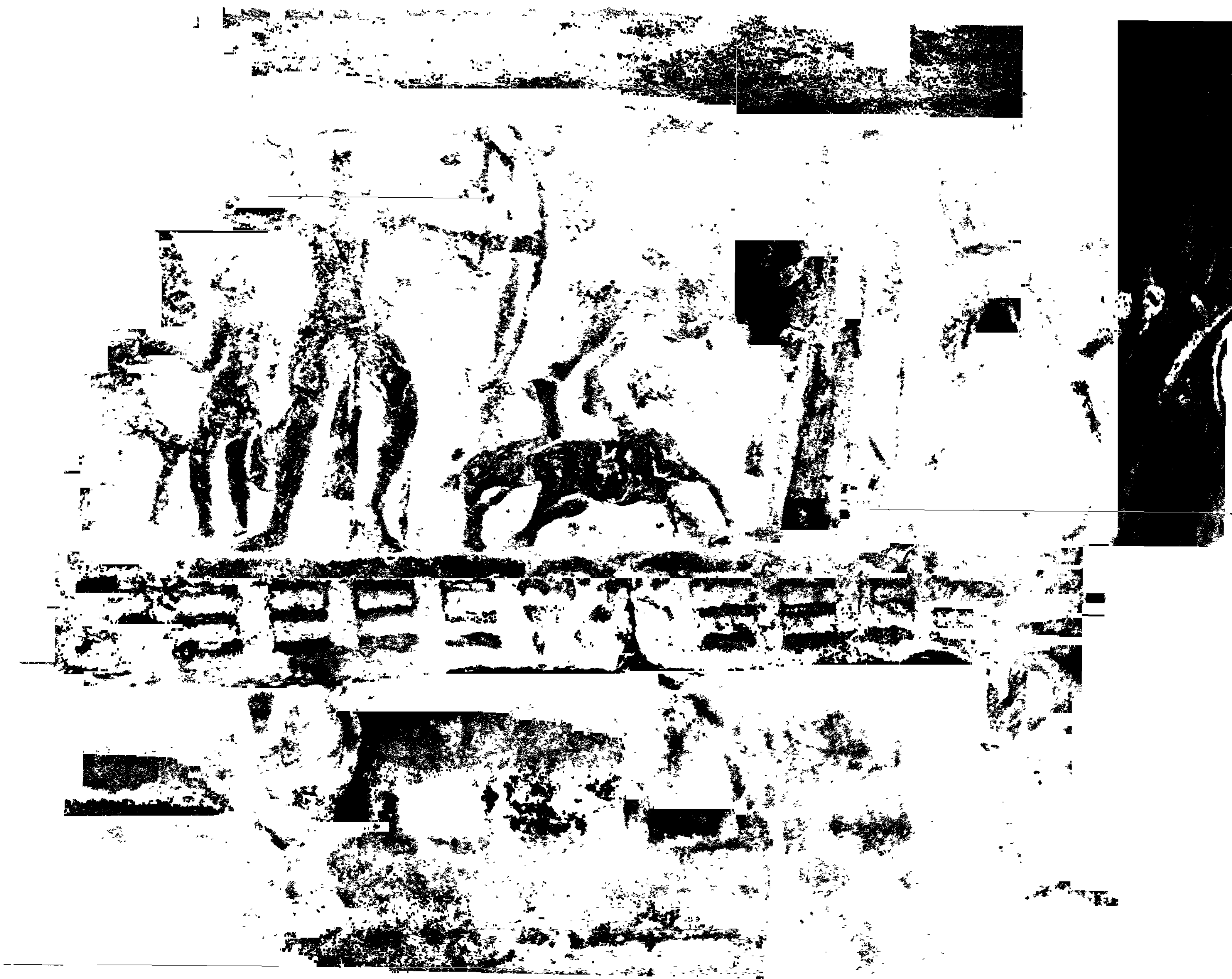


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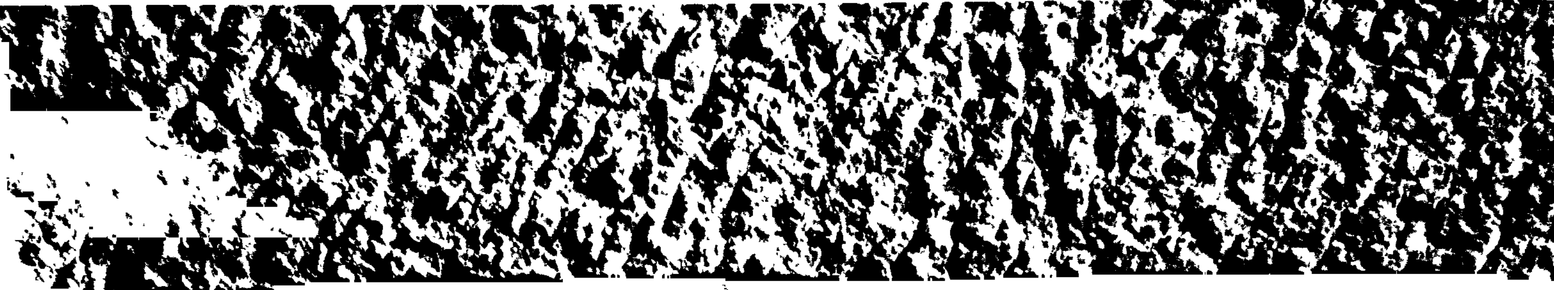


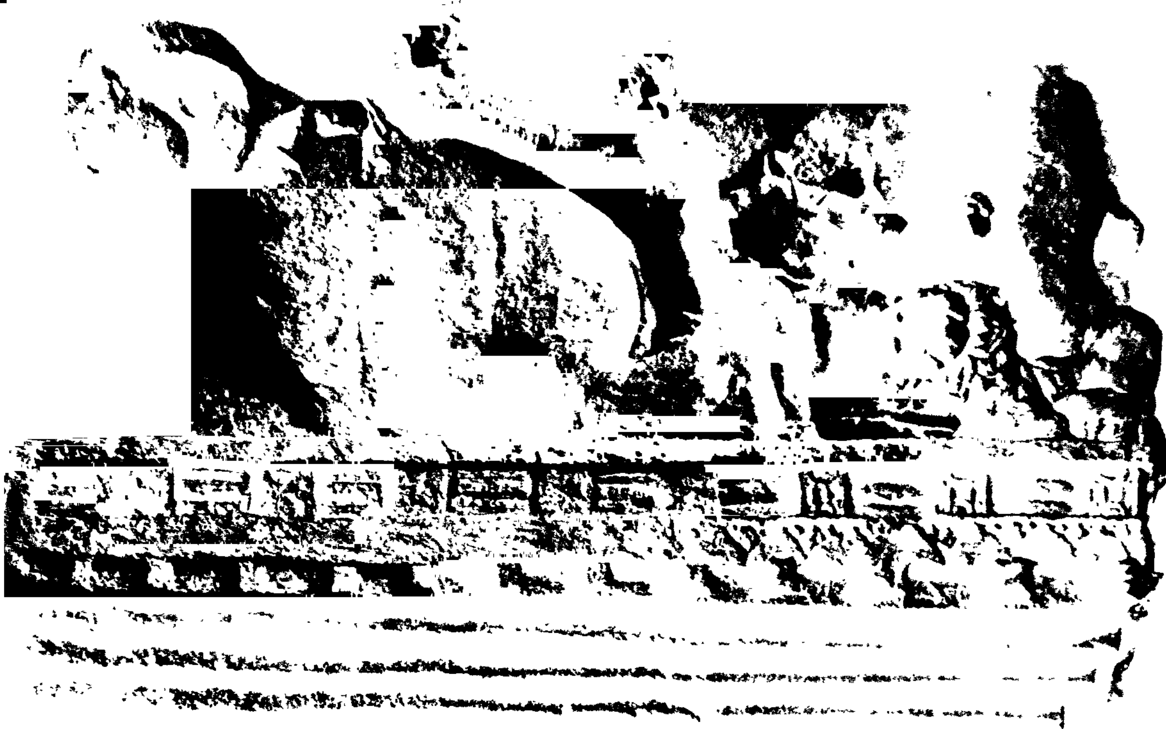
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THE SECOND PERIOD: THE ARTS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

A. Graeco-Buddhist or Gandhara art

Graeco-Buddhist art is not typically Indian but all its sources of inspiration are taken from India. Born in the Greek territories of the Upper Indus and in permanent contact with populations which were strongly hellenised since the passage of Alexander's armies (325 BC), it came from two sources and developed into a hybrid art with its own canons. It spread little in India but nevertheless it very strongly influenced Indian artistic work after the latter had passed its peak and introduced new elements which revived the vigour of sculpture and the arts in general. Its influence was first felt most strongly in the 5th century AD in the northern parts of India. From the combination of this Graeco-Buddhist art, the Indo-Scythian *(Kusana)* arts and Indian art *(Amaravati)*, emerged the Gupta style which in the 4th century produced works of art subsequently known as "classical". Two periods can be distinguished in Indo-Greek art: 1, the first period which lasts from the 1st to the 3rd century AD and is characterised by stone sculpture, mostly in schist; 2, the later period, from the 3rd to the 5th century, with sculpture in terra cotta and stucco.

As it extends towards Central Asia, Graeco-Buddhist art seems to lose its Indian characteristics to adopt Chinese canons instead and thus falls outside the scope of our subject. Perhaps the most important contribution of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture to the art of India has been the representation of the human person of the Buddha, something the Hinayanist Buddhist had never ventured to do. Greek art differs profoundly from Indian art in that the Greek ideal is found in the human figure and its plastic perfection, whereas the Indian inclinations are more intrinsic and seek to make the spirit visible through the outer bodily form. The representation of the Buddha is endowed with these two characteristics, body and spirit. The body is clothed in a rather Greek fashion, in a sort of chiton which leaves one shoulder uncovered; the face, calm and with regular features, its eyes half closed, indicates divine peace. The hair of the Buddha is initially treated in a Greek way, in big waves; it is gathered on top in a large chignon. Gradually the hair-style changes: it curls to the right, the chignon becomes a protuberance on the skull *(usnisa)*, symbolising spiritual power. Later, in the south of India, this protuberance is replaced by a lotus flower or by a flame. A complete symbolism, a whole iconography, develops around this image. The folds of the garments later on give way to simple lines which in the Gupta period sometimes disappear completely. The figure of the Buddha itself becomes indianised. With the contributions of Chinese painting and sculpture he assumes the form in which we know him today. Graeco-Buddhist art also introduced into the art of India a taste for realistic movement and helped Indian artists gradually to detach themselves from the formalism which threatened to detract from their vitality. As it became more secular, closer to ordinary life, the sculpture of India soared to prodigious heights.

58. LITTLE STUPA IN THE SWAT VALLEY. Schist. This stupa is, in the Gandharan manner, mounted on a high square socle and decorated with motifs from the life of the Buddha. It is still low but is set on three circular platforms which make it seem taller. The dome, which earlier used to be smooth and painted, is here beginning to be decorated and the *harmika* is assuming colossal proportions in relation to the whole of the edifice. The number of umbrellas has increased to eleven. The platforms are decorated with friezes depicting the Buddha and sometimes purely Greek figures are added (in this case the frieze with naked children). The decorations have become more geometric and the foliage does not occupy the place it used to. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

59. PSEUDO-CORINTHIAN CAPITAL, HADDA (present-day Afghanistan). Here the Hellenistic influence can be seen very clearly. The Corinthian acanthus leaves are now more stylised and simplified, and they shelter a little effigy of the Buddha. This capital

was probably mounted on a column or pilaster decorating a Buddhist building. *Musée Guimet.*

60. BODHISATTVA. GRAECO-BUDDHIST ART, GANDHARA. It probably dates from the 1st century and well illustrates the first trends of Graeco-Buddhist art. It represents Maitreya, the future Buddha, dressed as a prince. His garment, the classical Indian *dhoti*, is broadly treated; the belt is fastened with an ornament representing a lion's head. His almost Spartan sandals are of a new type. His hair, supple and wavy, is gathered in a chignon, kept together on top of the head by a linked fillet and an ornament. And finally, he wears a moustache. The blob between the eyebrows indicates the awakening to spiritual life. His features are fine and elegant, with slightly narrowed eyes. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

61. THE BUDDHA IN THE ABHAYA-MUDRA, GANDHARA. He wears a complete garment of which the folds are already more regular, less naturalistic. His feet are bare as becomes an ascetic. He has a faint smile though this is still unskilfully treated, and his features have lost some of their rigour. The hair is still wavy but the chignon has shrunk. A socle decorated with lotus flowers and figures of worshippers now makes its appearance. It does not assume its definitive form until a little later.

62. STUCCOES FOUND AT HADDA (Eastern Afghanistan) and at Taxila (North-West India). These pieces are much more lively than the sculpture in schist and rate among the most interesting products of Graeco-Buddhist art. This one is the famous figure of a demon with grave moving features. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

63. BUDDHA. GRAECO-BUDDHIST ART OF GANDHARA. This upright figure in the *abhaya mudra*, stands in the same attitude as the Buddha of Plate 61. The treatment of the robe and face is not as purely Hellenistic and comes closer to the Indian concept of sculpture. It is also the work of a less skilful artist. The hair is treated in the "Greek fashion" so that the *usnisa* is still in the form of a chignon. On the background, which forms an aureole, two Bodhisattva figures are seated on lotus-shaped socles. The swastika engraved on the palm of his hand is probably of later date. *Musée Guimet.*

64. ANGEL. One of the attractions of Graeco-Buddhist art for the historian is to trace in each instance the very diverse influences. The figure of a demon (Plate 61) had a Mongolian face. This piece evokes totally different associations: the prettiness of this angel is far removed from the beauty of the two other stuccoes represented; it is something of a surprise in a work on Indian art and is shown here for that reason. *Photograph: Larkin, London.*

65. BARBARIAN. This crude nomad's face has been infused by Buddhism with a reflection of profound spirituality. The ethnic type is reminiscent of the Celts, Gauls or Galatians of Roman or Hellenistic art, but his face expresses an inward gravity which cannot fail to recall some of the masterpieces of medieval Christian art. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

66. HEAD OF A BODHISATTVA, GANDHARA. It has a complicated hair style, decorated with jewellery, and wears a moustache. The characteristics of Greek sculpture are clearly apparent here. *Private collection, Paris.*

67. ASCETIC BUDDHA FROM GANDHARA. This statue, one of the most beautiful produced by Indo-Greek art, represents the Buddha seeking the Way by asceticism. Its stylised naturalism, inspired by Greek works of art, depicts the physique rather than the state of mind of the Buddha after a long period of fasting. Hollow eye-sockets, the skin clinging to the bones, extreme leanness, all these details contribute to give the impression of reality. Anatomical realism is little respected (the muscles and veins are not always in their right place, there are too many ribs, etc.) and concern with symmetry and equilibrium seems to have guided the sculptor. An intense nervous tension can be felt—the will to achieve a set aim. The stylised hair and supple waves form a large chignon. The Buddha wears a beard here, a frequent attribute of ascetics. His elongated, pierced ears are the only indications of his high birth. Stylised stems and leaves of the *Kusa* plant are represented on the edge of the socle which is decorated with the symmetrically arranged figures of monks worshipping in front of an altar which carries a bowl (the Buddha's begging bowl?). Some of them bring offerings. This is one of the very rare pieces which represent the Buddha in a phase of his life previous to his illumination. *Photograph: Frances Mortimer.*

68. HEAD OF A SAGE, TERRA COTTA, AHICCITRA. Hellenistic influence can be seen very clearly here. This terra cotta head, of very small dimensions, probably dates from the end of the Graeco-Buddhist period of art, perhaps from the beginning of the 5th century. The hair is pulled back and fastened in a chignon; the head is expressive, irregular and singularly lively.

69. STUCCO HEAD, GANDHARA. Here can be seen the end of Graeco-Buddhist art as it declined into mannerism and sugary sweetness. There is nothing Indian left in this well-dressed head of a young woman and it might equally well have been found among the ruins of Pompeii. *Private collection, Delhi.*

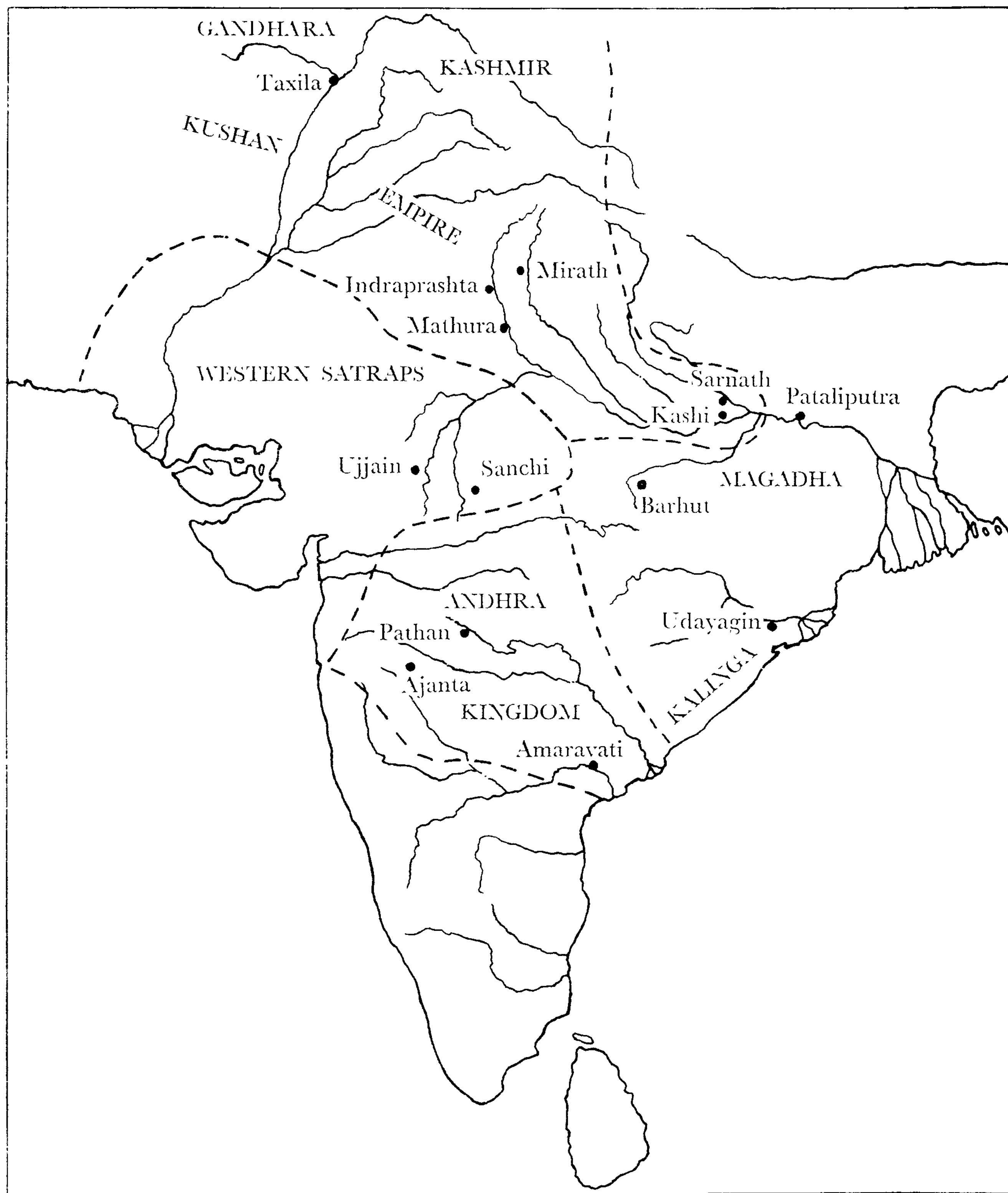


FIG. 12. INDIA IN THE 1st AND 2nd CENTURIES AD, SHOWING THE KUSANA EMPIRE AND THE REGION OF THE ART OF MATHURA

B. The Art of Mathura

While the Greeks of Bactria were influencing Buddhist iconography, the north of India had already for several centuries been under the pressure of different tribes who had come down from the steppes of Central Asia. One of these tribes, the Kusanas, protected Buddhism which was flourishing at the time, and a typically Indian school of art developed, a direct continuation of the art of Bharhut, called the art of Mathura from the name of the town where this school was centred. The art of Mathura is initially a little rigid in its representations of *yaksas* and standing Buddhas, but very soon it achieves a maturity which places it in the front rank of the arts of India. Its sculpture becomes completely humanised and one can almost feel the flesh vibrate under the sculptor's chisel. Attidudes are supple and natural. A healthy sensuality seems to be a major feature of Kusana art. Cut from white-spotted red sandstone, the carvings of Mathura are easily identifiable. The female figures, with their well-filled shapes in languishing poses, stand in the *tribhanga* attitude, or triple flexion of the body, which first appeared in the ancient period and remains one of the canons of Indian art. The men are full of life. Their garments, supple and delicate, cling closely to the body. The hair style of the men is distinguished by a cocoon of hair on the front of the head, that of the women by loose ribbons and enormous rings in the ears. The women appear naked, but for a decorated belt which leaves their loins apparently uncovered, for their thin garments do not show. The men wear only a *dhoti* which is held together by a belt of cloth, knotted at the side.

70. THE BODHISATTVA MAITREYA, MATHURA. The stylistic features of this thick-set figure relate it to the *genii loci* (*yaksa*) which are so difficult to date. An examination of the details confirms this derivation; for instance, the rather heavy, powerful build, with legs apart, the naked torso; the cloth belt, decorated with a criss-cross motif, tied in a double knot, is reminiscent of that of a *yaksa* found at Pataliputra. This genetic relationship is not without interest, for the person represented here is the Bodhisattva Maitreya, holding a gourd in his left hand, raising his right hand, palm forward, in the gesture called "absence of fear", and Indian scholars are inclined to attribute to the Bodhisattvas of Mathura a purely Indian origin.

71. BUDDHA, MATHURA. This Maitreya figure is a magnificent example of the art of Mathura at its height. The general impression of power which emanates from this work of art is combined with a nobility which is not without virile elegance. The gesture has lost its awkwardness. The garments are treated with more suppleness and reveal his privy parts under the heavy fold which hangs between his legs; a long scarf passes over his shoulder and left fore-arm as in the preceding statue, but now it is draped without that stiffness and hangs in front of the body with a more natural lightness. Finally there is a new detail of indisputably Levantine origin. This is the vast halo which frames the head; the snail-like curls also indicate Graeco-Buddhist influence. This halo is decorated with a scalloped border which is later continued in the Gupta works of Mathura. In detail, one may note that the flat braided necklace of the preceding figure is combined with a circular gold necklace. The belt is still knotted on the side but it is made from a smooth thin material and the knot is less conspicuous.

72. BODHISATTVA GAUTAMA, SARNATH. The Bodhisattva is no longer Maitreya, but the future, historical Buddha in person, his head shaved, without any ornamentation and dressed in the monastic robe of which the regular folds are indicated delicately. This statue is less beautiful than the preceding one but likewise dates from the height of the Mathura period.

73. NAGA KING, SANCHI. We are including this beautiful though more recent piece, in order to show the end-result of the evolution comprised in the three preceding plates. The modelling is less powerful and already shows a certain affinity with Gupta statues. The garment is completely transparent and can only be distinguished at the borders: the folds have disappeared and the long scarf of Plates 71 and 72 is treated as a simple flat, trimmed fillet. Finally, the old necklace has disappeared and the head is adorned with a complicated diadem, a coil decorated with a monster head which spews garlands. The person represented here is a snake king, a figure from popular mythology adopted by Hinduism as well as Buddhism. Behind his body appear the coils of a monstrous cobra whose many-headed hood frames and shelters the king's head.

74. WOMAN'S HEAD, BANARAS. Sandstone. Note the ear-lobes, completely deformed by the heavy earrings. The eyes are wide open, the nostrils tremble.

The attitude is a little hieratic but a certain sensual charm emanates from this piece. *Jaipur Museum.*

75. INDRA VISITING THE BUDDHA, MATHURA. 2nd century. Indra, an old Vedic deity who had gradually fallen into oblivion, here comes in person, followed by his elephant, to pay homage to the sacredness of the Buddha. The latter is meditating in a cave in a rock with a peacock on top. A hole underneath shelters a bear. Indra wears on his head the fortress-shaped crown which is his attribute. He is followed by a man with a yak-tail fly-swatter. The elephant carries flowers in his trunk. This low relief must originally have formed part of the decoration of a stupa. The treatment is still a little crude. The Buddha sits cross-legged in his shelter. He receives his visitor smiling and with a friendly gesture. The protuberance on his head is clearly visible. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

76. STATUE OF KANISKA, MATHURA (78-120?). This is the only effigy of the great Kusana emperor, identifiable thanks to the inscription engraved on the bottom of his garment, giving his name and titles. Posturing proudly, his attitude is hieratic and noble; it is that of a horseman wearing spurs, the feet turned outward. He is dressed in a simple skirt (with a curious stylisation of the folds) held together by an ornate belt, and wears rather unusual leather or felt boots. His naked torso is protected by a large cloak, fastened at the neck and embroidered on the edges. A long sword hangs from his left side and his right hand rests on a sort of big, decorated stick which may have been either a club or an insignia of command, or perhaps a special sword. This Buddhist monarch had made Peshawar into his capital. His immense empire stretched from Banaras to Central Asia, extending to the lower Indus and present-day Afghanistan. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

77. STATUE OF A WOMAN, MATHURA. 2nd century. Here we see all the gracefulness and sensuality of Kusana art which excelled in the representations of full and slightly exaggerated forms, a method of bringing femininity to the fore. Even the veil attached to her belt contributes to emphasize the posture, the *tribhanga*, of this splendid creature. The proportions are illogical: one leg is manifestly longer than the other, the thighs are not equally thick; but these are deliberate effects of the artist to render his statue more pleasing and graceful. This statue formed part of the upright of a railing. The other part, on the right, represents a forest deity in a charming pose, full of grace and movement.

78. STATUETTE OF A SEATED MAN. TERRA COTTA. 3rd century. This man is seated on a cushion in the European manner. He wears heavy ear-rings which deform his lobes, and a necklace and a sacred thread, indicating that he is Twice-born. Unfortunately his face and arms are badly damaged. Height: about 6 inches. *Private collection, Paris.*

C. The Art of Amaravati

Amaravati, the capital of the kings of the Andhra dynasty, lies not far inland on the east coast of India. Through their conquests, the Andhra rulers came into contact with the hellenised peoples of the western satrapies and the people who had been subjected successively by the Maurya and Sunga dynasties. They were great builders and erected several Buddhist stupas, the largest and most famous of them situated at Amaravati. The first brick core of this stupa dates from the 2nd century AD and it was enlarged and completed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It was still intact in the 12th century but local despots, in need of building material, had it gradually demolished. The carvings which remained were later collected and put under shelter. They are mostly of marble. In its final form the stupa had a diameter of more than 165 feet, a height of about 115 feet and was completely covered with white marble slabs. As at Sanchi, the two circumambulatories were raised and carried twenty columns in groups of five. Gigantic lions guarded the entrances of the first ambulatory. Most of the carvings which have been saved from destruction are of a very high quality. Their study reveals that they were carried out in different periods. Although nothing of the structure of the stupa remains, it is possible to get an idea of its shape because it is represented on many of the bas-reliefs which used to ornament the stupa itself. In the graceful carvings of Amaravati the more slender forms and more natural movement are in harmony and rhythm with the composition. There are many human beings depicted and they are well portrayed; their expressions are true to life, the scenes are narrative and dynamic. We find again the voluptuous female forms of the art of Mathura, but now more delicate and free from all formalism. Many secular elements are now

included in the composition of these scenes, giving them more veracity and freedom. This art already suggests the development of Gupta art.

Numerous other stupas were built in the same area: on the banks of the Krsna, at Nagarjunikonda, Jaggayapeta, Goli, etc. But nothing remains of them except their foundations.

79. RAMAGRAMA STUPA. About 100 AD. One of the relics of the Buddha was brought to Ramagrama and a stupa was erected in its honour. A *naga* lived in a lake not far away and came to worship at the stupa in the hope of recovering his original form which he had lost because of his sins. When king Asoka wanted to remove the holy relics from this stupa to redistribute them again, the *naga* came and implored him to refrain and told him his story. And Asoka went away without touching the stupa, fearing to offend the *naga*. We see that the stupa is here surrounded by two *naga* kings accompanied by their *nagini* who are kneeling. The *naga* on the right holds in his hand a flower at which a bee is sucking. This *naga* was probably recarved at a later date: his form is more slender, he wears the brahmanical sacred thread, and the head and body are not in the same style. (Compare with the other *nagas* and the *nagini* on the left). The stupa is surrounded by five-headed serpents and carries innumerable flower-shaped umbrellas.

80. GREAT STUPA OF AMARAVATI, depicted on a carved panel of the 3rd century. On each side of the stupa a *dharmacakra* is carved, flanked by horsemen representing the messengers of the Law. Below the pillars, an empty throne suggests the Buddha. Above, dwarfs and *devas* make music. The carving shows clearly the ambulatories, the pillars in groups of five, the entrances flanked by lions, the roundels of the *vedika*, the ornamental garlands of the *anda*, and the half-moon-shaped threshold stone at the entrance. Flying gods and *yaksas* worship the stupa and render it homage, protecting it with their umbrellas. The frieze on top shows three scenes from the life of the Buddha. On the left people worship him as represented by a throne and a tree. In the centre, the Buddha, in his human form, undergoes the assaults of Mara and his daughters. Finally, on the right, the Buddha, represented by an empty throne, waits in his palace at Kapalivastu for the musicians and dancing girls to fall asleep before fleeing. Couples of *nagas* and *nagini* separate the scenes. This panel carries the inscription: "Glory to Siddharta. Donation made to the great stupa of the Lord by the wife of the merchant Samudra, son of Samgha, who lives in the big town in the district of Pukiet and by the... Kotacchandi, for the prosperity and well-being of the world".

81. PURNAKUMBHA, AMARAVATI. A decorative motif which is found frequently in the carvings of Amaravati. It represents a rounded jar from which lotus flowers flow. The receptacle itself is also decked with garlands and coils which resemble those which decorate the *anda* of the great stupa (Plate 80). *Photograph: Government Museum, Madras.*

82. THE TAMING OF THE NALAGIRI ELEPHANT, AMARAVATI. Railing medallion, 2nd century. The event took place at Rajagriha. Devadatta, the evil cousin of Gautama, tried to kill him by letting loose in the street a mad elephant, Nalagiri. The Buddha raised his hand, the animal was subdued and knelt at his feet. On the left of the medallion we see the dreadful devastations in the town, caused by the elephant: some inhabitants have been trampled, others are fleeing. A frightened woman throws her arms round a man's neck, looking for protection. A couple, arm in arm, are walking along, sheltering from the sun under an umbrella. From a balcony some people are looking inquisitively at what is happening. But Gautama arrives and with one gesture pacifies the rage of the animal which bends its knee (on the right). One man raises his arms to heaven as a sign of admiration. The composition of this scene is admirable, lively, animated and strikingly true to life. It is a masterpiece which demonstrates all the elegance and liveliness of the art of Amaravati. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

83. RELIEF FROM AMARAVATI. In other places, as at Sanchi, religious themes provide an occasion for secularly inspired representations. On this relief we see such scenes as a traveller might have witnessed: a number of elephants emerges from a palace inside which varied entertainment is taking place: a banquet and a ballet, all composed very skilfully. The group on the extreme right, at the back, arranged within an oval space, provides an example of the difficulties of composition that the decoration in medallions brought with it, a prelude to the skilful art of Ajanta. The mountainous region in the north-west of the Deccan did, in fact, maintain contact with the low-lying areas of Andhra, both in the field of religion (Buddhism of the Middle Way) and of the arts, thanks to river systems. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

84. THE BUDDHA'S DESCENT TO EARTH, AMARAVATI. Carried by dwarfs on a palanquin, the white elephant which is to enter the womb of queen Maya, the mother of the future Buddha, by her right side, enters the world of human beings. *Devas*

go before him, singing and dancing with joy. One of them plays the flute, another the *vina*. A wall separates this scene from the adjacent ones. The hair style of some of the *devas* is similar to that of Kusana nobles while others wear voluminous turbans. The scene is executed in a bold style, dynamic and vigorous which breathes movement and joy. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

85. SANCTUARY OF THE SACRED TREE, AMARAVATI. This bas-relief shows a building with four stories, a type which must have been current in that period. The bottom of the shrine is missing here. It must have been a simple, columned hall with one single arched door in the middle; this may be surmised from the regularly increasing number of *kudus* of the higher stories. These *kudus* are not all of the same type, showing slightly differing features on the first two stories: the trellis work and the finnials are treated differently; the arch tends to grow narrow at the base. Above the building spread the branches of the *pippala* tree, with flying figures bringing offerings to it on trays. Garlands hang from the branches of the tree. This relief is very valuable because it informs us with great precision about the architecture of this period. *Government Museum, Madras.*

86. KUDU, AMARAVATI. We have passed from the utilitarian *kudu*, the window-arch, to the ornamental *kudu*. This one, which is late, is decorated in the centre with the figure of a *yaksi*. The *kudu* is still growing narrower at the base and is decorated with medallions of lotus-flowers and a finial motif in the form of a *triratna* (the trefoil emblem of Buddhism). The graceful figurine is reminiscent of the most beautiful achievements of Sanchi and Mathura, although the costume is different. *Photograph: Government Museum, Madras.*

87. DWARF. NAGARJUNIKONDA. It is difficult to date this piece of sculpture which was found among the remains of another stupa, that of Nagarjunikonda. This dwarf may represent a door guardian, a *dvarapala*, for he is armed with a club. His attitude is resolute and he stands firmly. Certain details of dress, as the knot on the left and the panels of his *dhoti* falling between the legs, are comparable with details which can be found in carvings from Mathura. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

88, 89. THE BEGRAM IVORIES. On the ancient site of Kapisi, the summer capital of the Kusana kings, at Begram in Afghanistan, Joseph and Ria Hackin discovered in two walled-in rooms a treasure of the greatest interest for our knowledge of international commerce and the luxury trade at the beginning of the Christian era: fragments of Chinese lacquer work, painted glass, bronzes and moulded plaster-work of Alexandrian origin, together with ivory furniture, which, to judge from the style, originated in central India, between Mathura and Amaravati.

Ivory sculpture had been favoured in India since a very early date. One gate of Stupa I at Sanchi was donated by the guild of ivory workers and an Indian ivory has been found at Pompeii. But, like wood, ivory is a perishable material and the humid climate of India did not favour its conservation. This is the reason for the prodigious interest of the finds of Begram.

Here we show two of the pieces which allow us to appreciate the variety of inspiration (one of them depicts a fable) and also the variety of the techniques of the ivory-workers: incision, work in the round, high relief, counter-sunk work, in the manner of certain Egyptian reliefs of the 18th Dynasty and, finally, the use of colour for the high lights. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

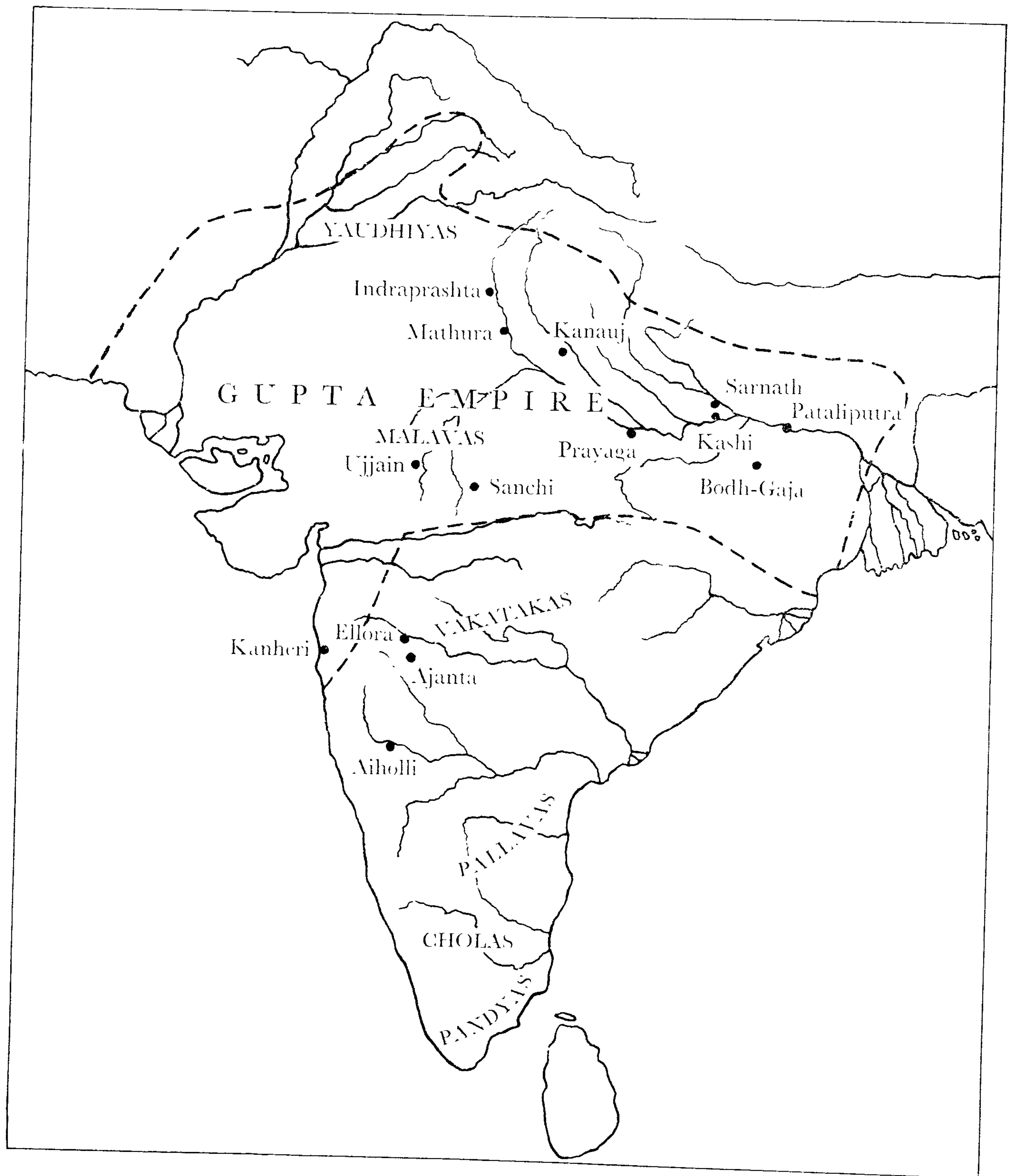
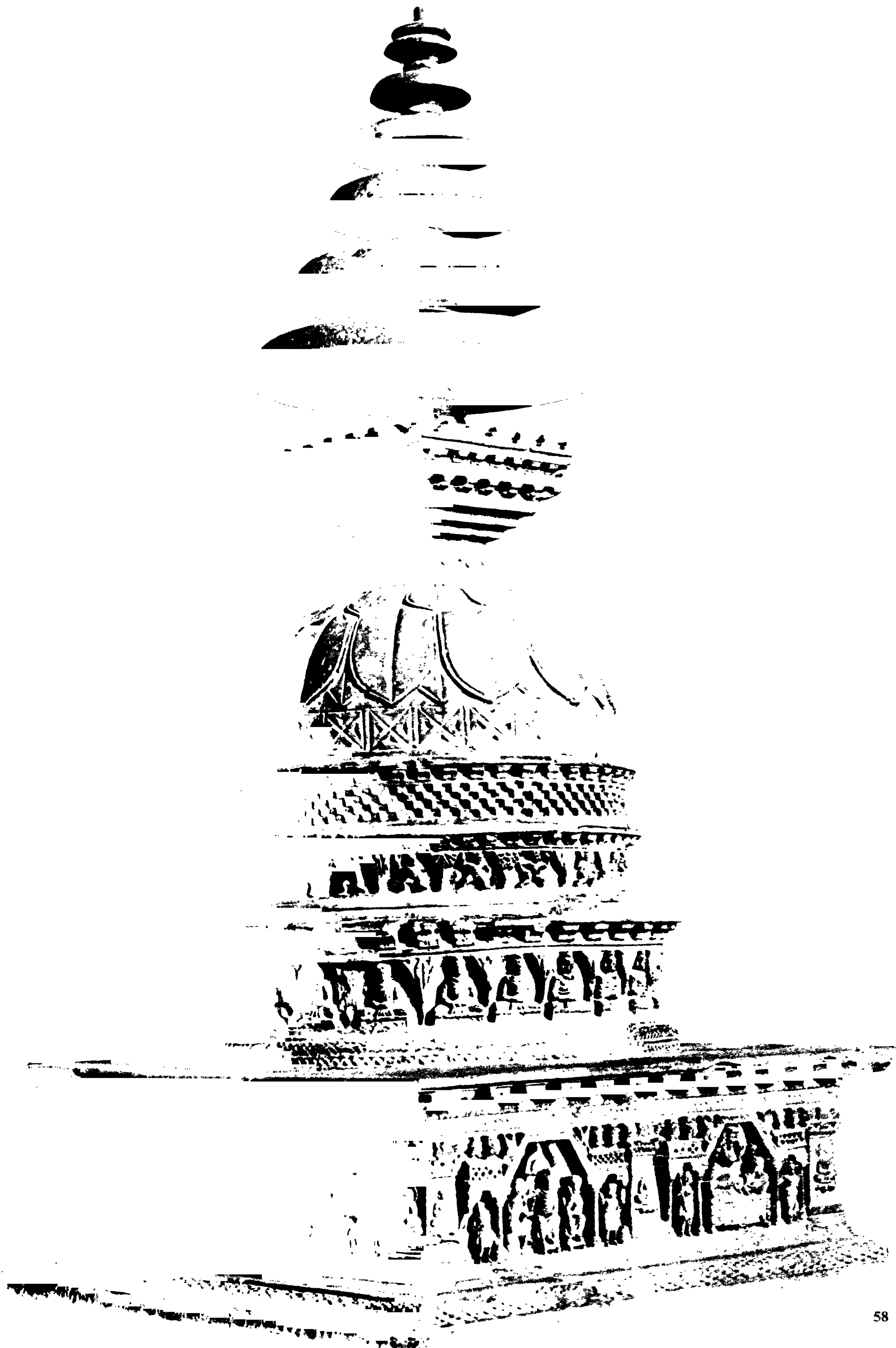
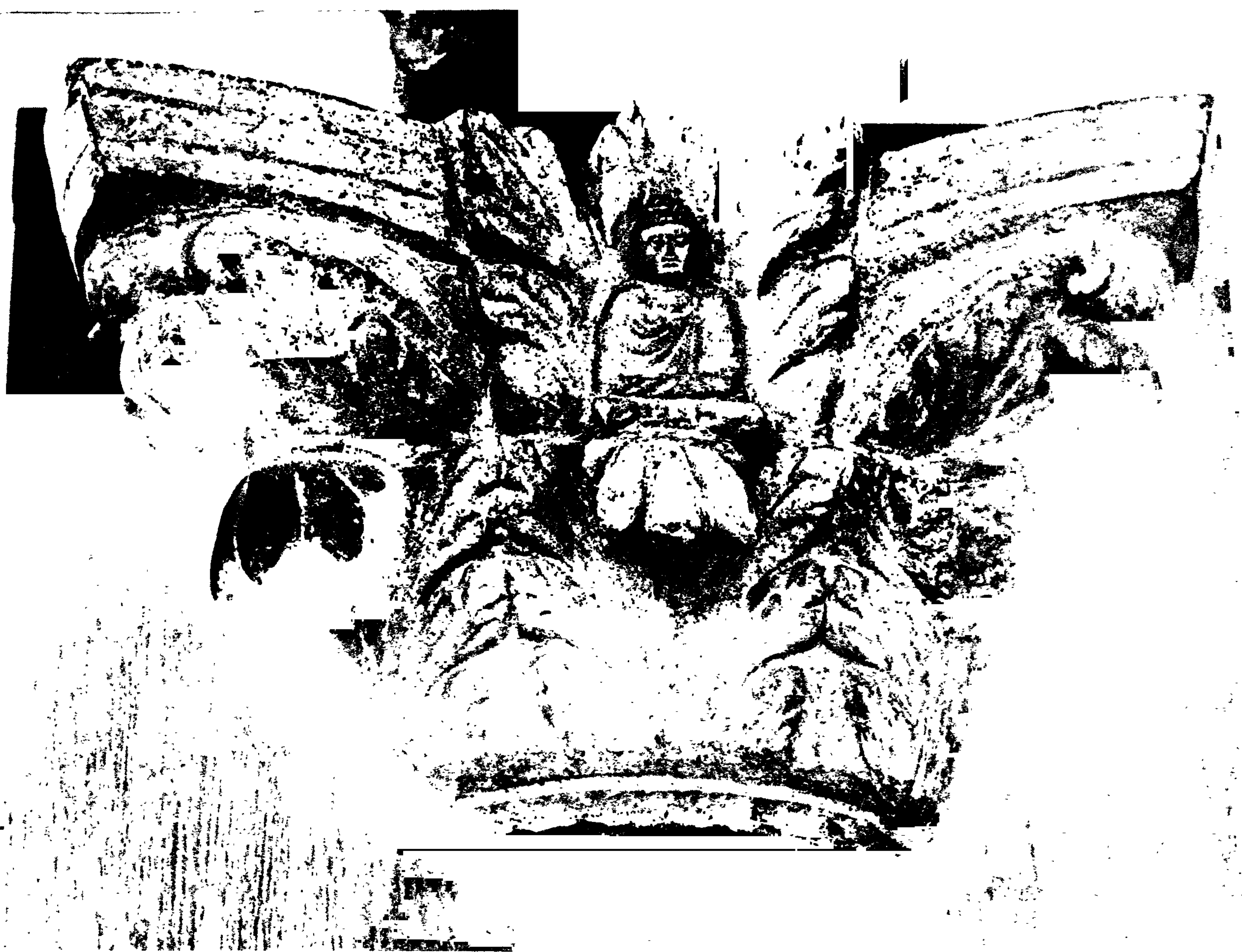


FIG. 13. INDIA AT THE TIME OF THE GOUPTA EMPIRE





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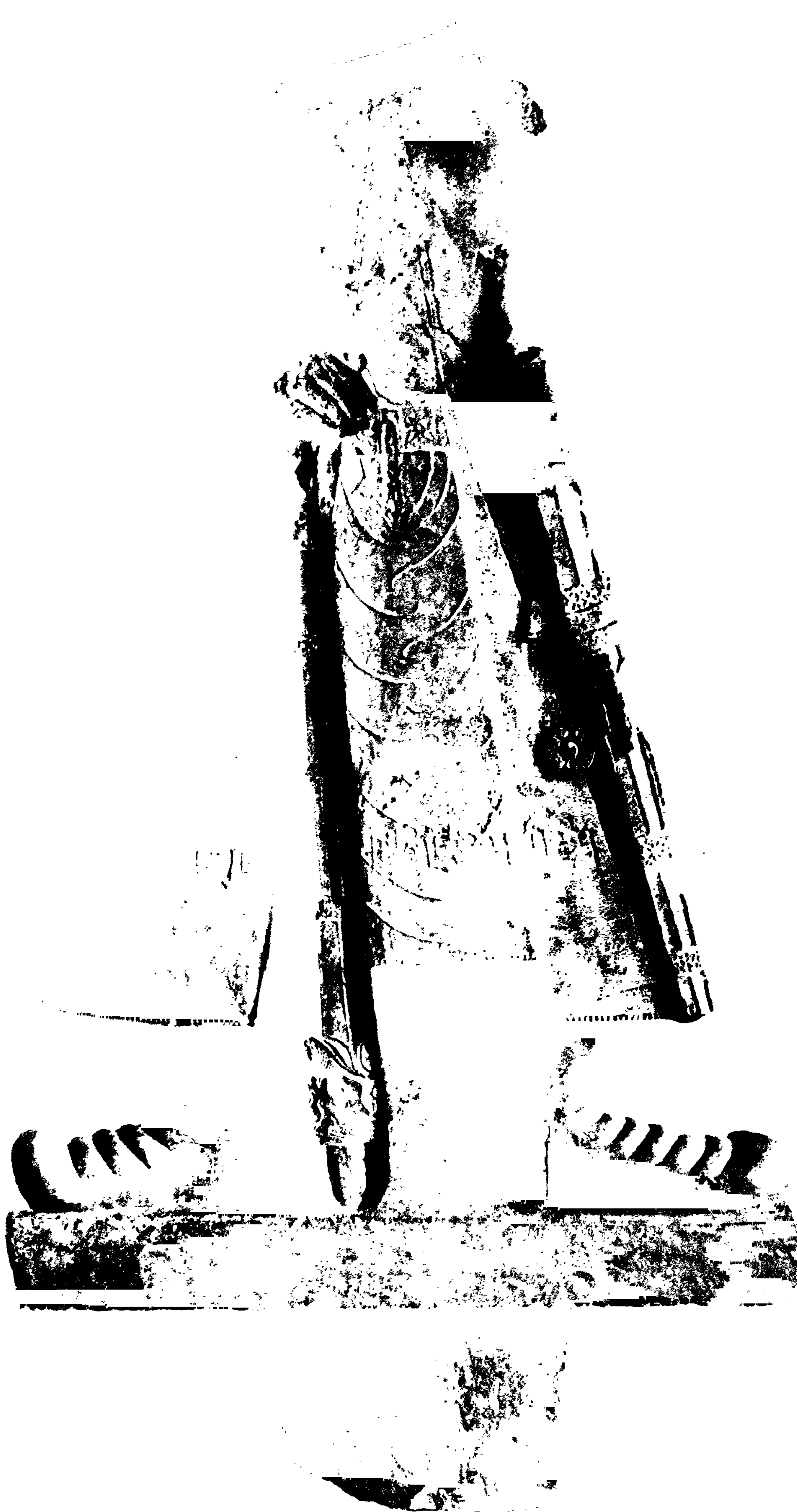
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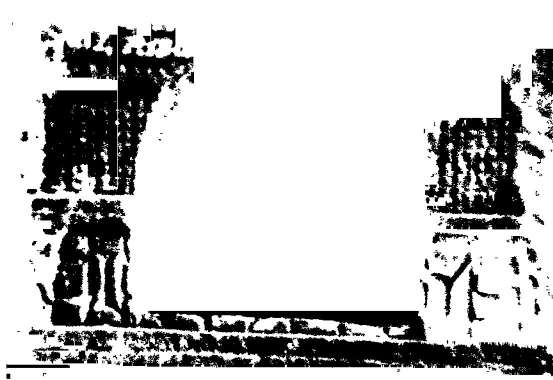


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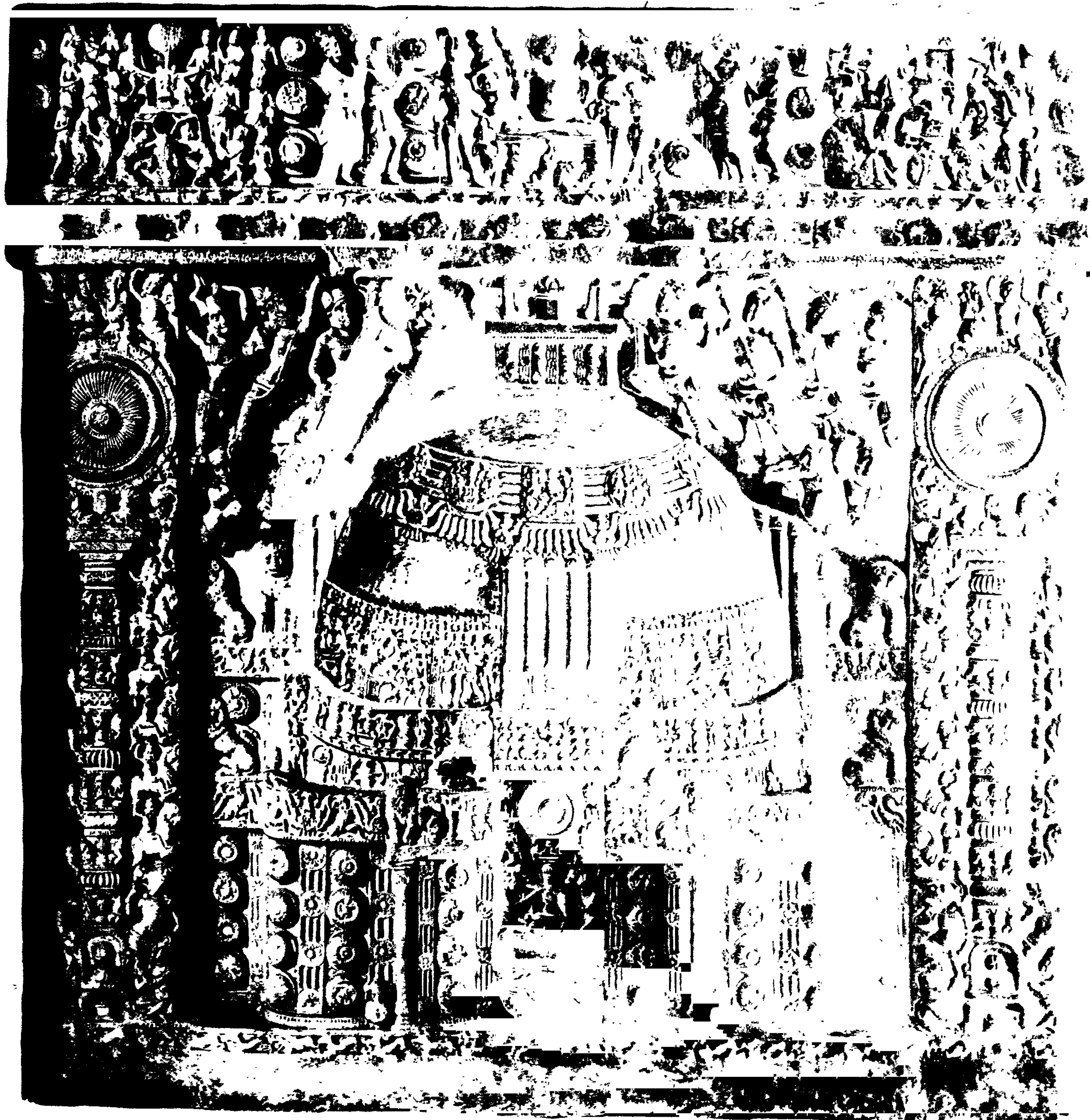








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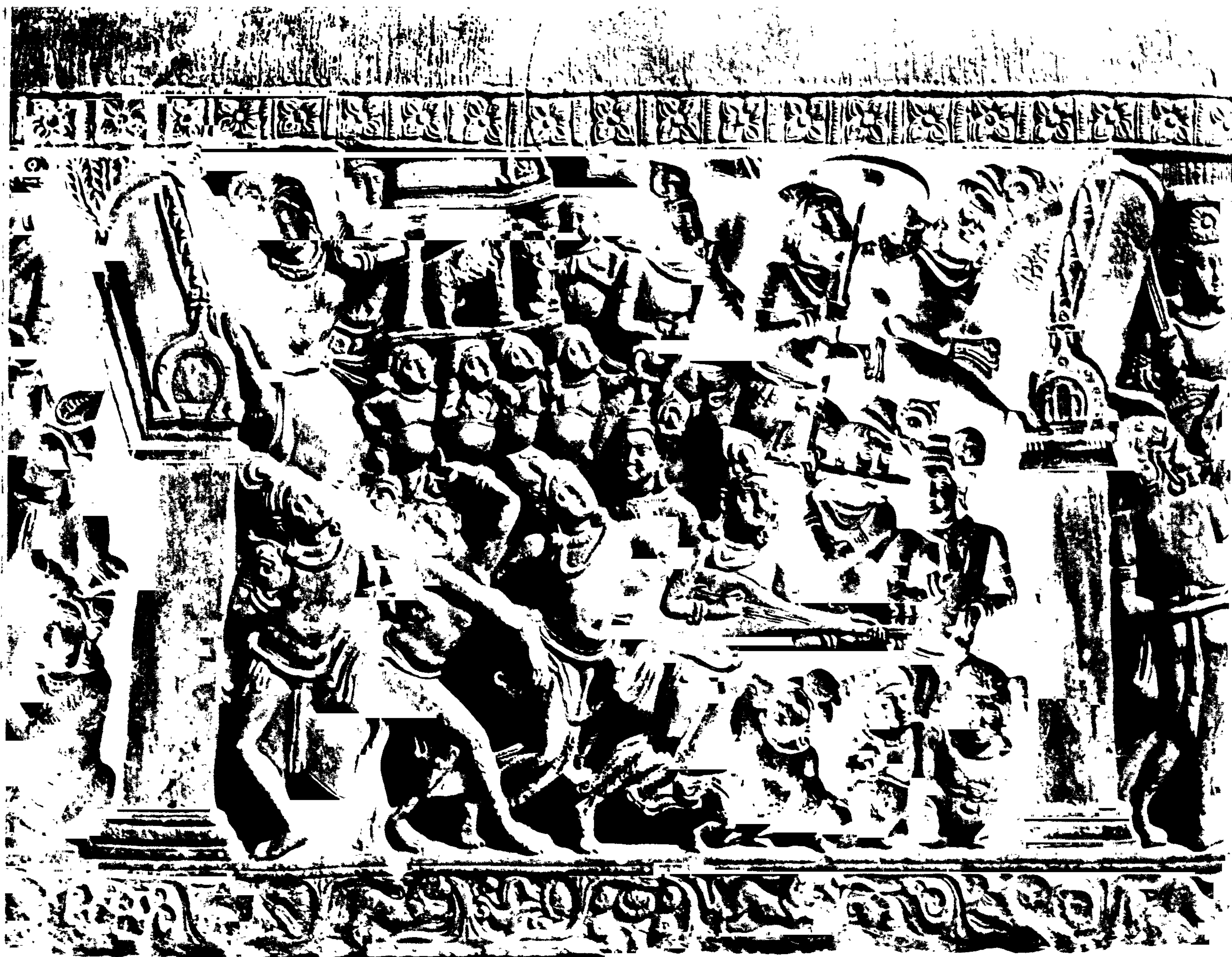
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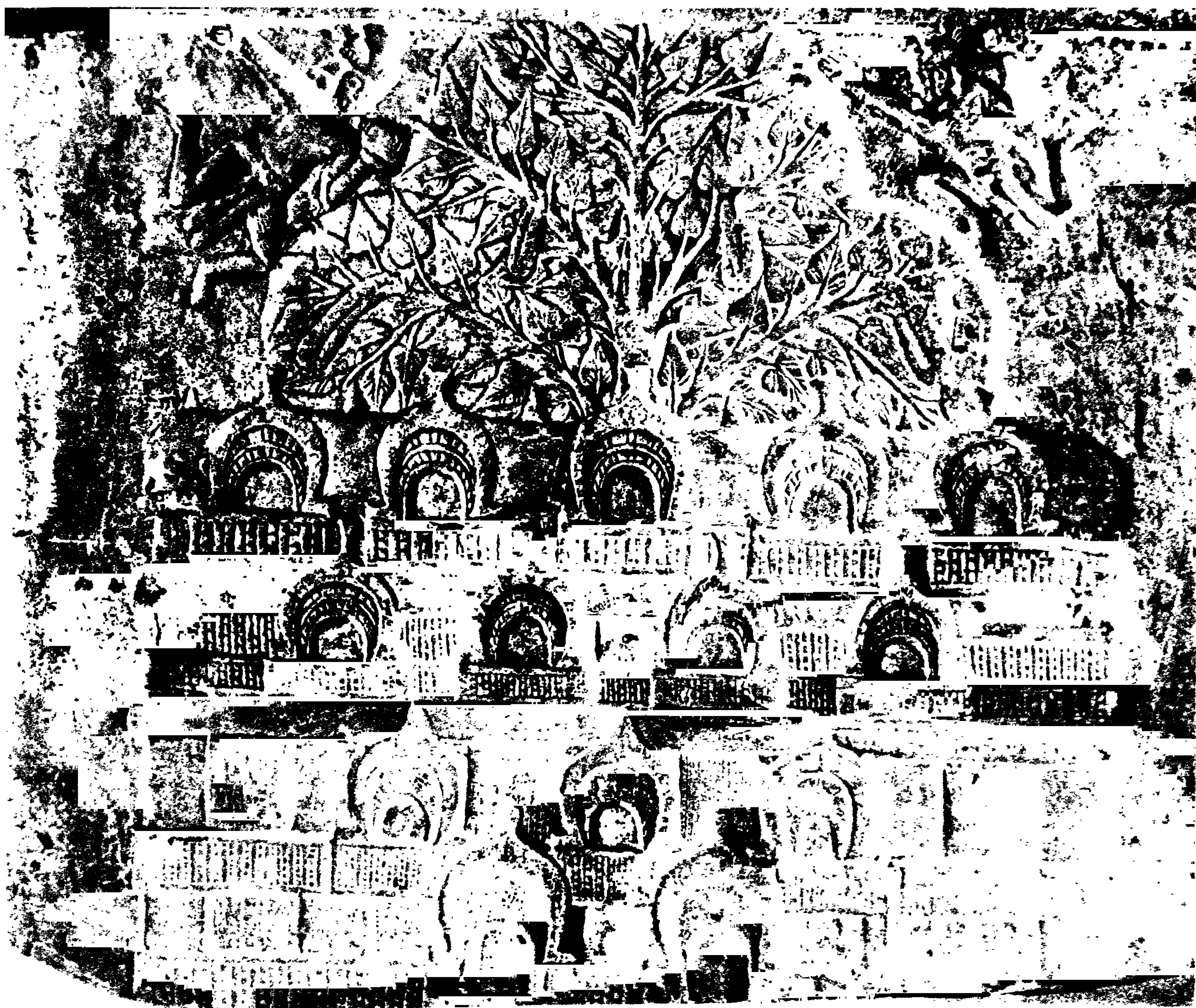
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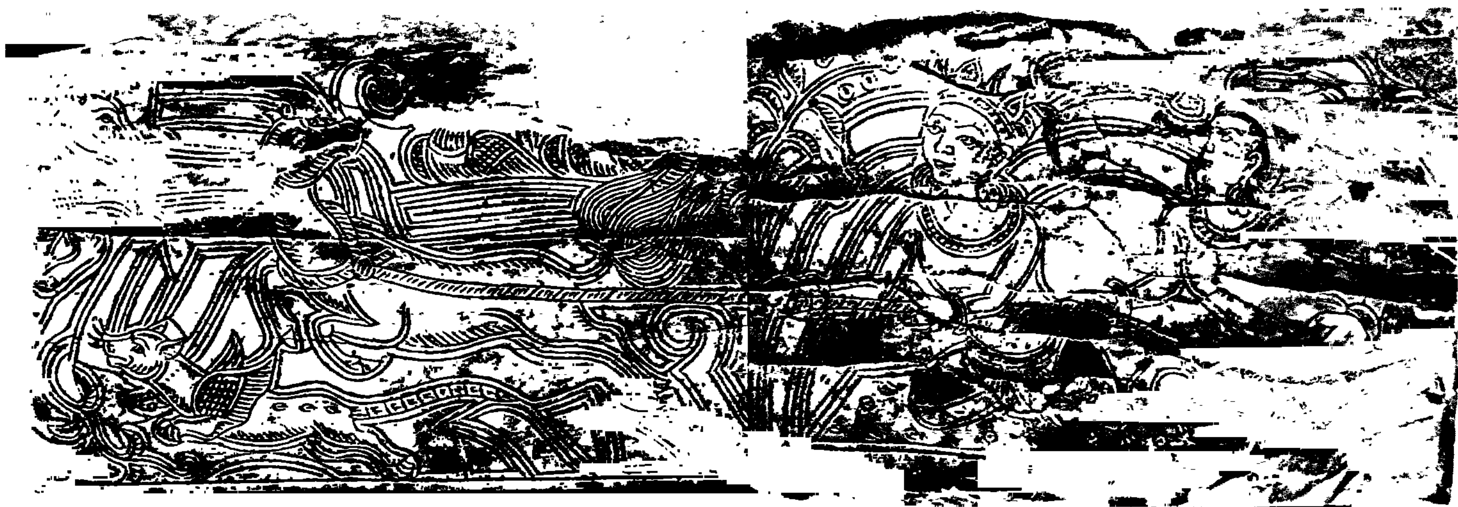
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THE THIRD PERIOD

While Graeco-Buddhist art followed its course of development on the margin of India proper, local divergences grew less and each school, adapting itself a little, contributed to the formation of a new style which spread under the Gupta dynasty, continued in the following period and finally influenced the art of the Palas of Bengal. Initially, Buddhism remained predominant, but the aesthetic importance of Hinduism gradually increased from now on until, finally, Buddhism was driven out of India.

We shall first present some isolated Gupta statuary, both Buddhist (from the centres of Mathura and Sarnath) and Brahman, then Gupta and Pala stupas, and then Gupta caves; subsequently we will examine the post-Gupta rock temples, the last to be cut in India. Finally we shall look at the evolution of structural architecture, the most ancient specimens of which date from the reign of the Gupta emperors.

90. BUDDHA IN GUPTA STYLE FROM MATHURA. It preserves the balanced attitude, with its feet parted, of the Buddhas of the Mathura style, but the features of the face are finer, the *usnisa* a little more prominent. The dress is most skilfully represented, in long, fine, supple folds, and it adheres closely to the body. Finally, the halo is decorated with an abundance of floral motifs. This statue, which measures nearly seven feet in height, is a perfect specimen of Gupta art in its maturity. *National Museum, New Delhi.*

91. GUPTA BUDDHA FROM SARNATH. Buddhas of the Sarnath school are distinguished from Buddhas of Mathura of the same period by their more refined, sometimes more slender, treatment. The dress is completely transparent and without folds, thus allowing the sculptor to idealise the human form of the Buddha. The body, straight without being stiff, the crossed legs, the gently bent arms and the hands with their supple fingers, indicate a perfect artistic mastery. The face shows a very faint smile. The halo becomes more and more ornate; gandharvas, set on the outer edge, give a certain equilibrium to the whole composition. On the socle the first disciples worship the Wheel of the Law; they are accompanied by deer which symbolise the Deer Park at Sarnath. This work, perfect in style and execution, has inspired most of the later representations of the seated Buddha, but has never been equalled. Like the Lion Capital which was, incidentally, found in the same place, this is one of the most significant masterpieces of the whole of the art of India.

92. BUDDHA FROM SARNATH. This figure is more recent than the preceding one. The halo is replaced by a nimbus which forms a background to the figure. The features of the face are more clearly Indian, the expression is more gentle. The Buddha is dressed in a long robe which now adheres to the body at every point. His hair is dressed in the style which is to become typical; the *usnisa* is decorated with curls. The ear-lobes are distended, a memory of the heavy rings he wore in his youth. The folds of the garments are merely indicated by a few incised lines on the body. The lowered eyelids suggest inner calm. The nimbus framing the body is but little decorated.

93. EKAMUKHALINGA, KHOH. This linga, decorated with the head of Siva, is a very remarkable work in its purity of style. Siva is represented here as the king of the *yogis*, with his hair gathered in a bun on the top of his head. He wears a crescent-moon-shaped ornament in his hair and the pupil of his third eye is indicated. Gupta style.

94. HEAD OF SIVA, MIRZAPUR. This work shows all the characteristics of Gupta art. As an examination of the ornamentation of the chignon reveals, it is more recent than the Khoh linga. The stylisation of the facial features, especially of the eyes, is not altogether fortunate. Late 6th century.

95. MATHURA, LATE GUPTA, 6th-7th century. Lower part of a statue decorating a pillar. The magnificence of this fragment makes its mutilation the more regrettable. Its workmanship is good, the treatment supple and harmonious. The very light muslin skirt clings closely to the body, hanging down at the side in little, tight folds. The exaggeratedly thin waist brings out the classical *tribhanga*. A very long pendant hangs down on her thigh. The curious movement forced the sculptor to have recourse to a deformation of the left leg, while the feet are shown in profile and the torso frontally. A small lizard clambers on the stones of the base of the pillar.

96. DHAMEK STUPA, SARNATH. This stupa is cylindrical in shape, rising from a very high base which is decorated with eight projecting niches. It is more than 165 feet high, with a diameter at the base of nearly 100 feet; the height of the socle is about 40 feet. No relic has been found inside it. The stone blocks of its foundation, as well as those of the socle are interconnected and strengthened with iron tenons. It appears never to have been completed. Decorations form a band all around the base of this stupa. Unfortunately many of them have been removed and we do not know exactly its original form.

97. GUPTA FRIEZE, DHAMEK STUPA, SARNATH. It consists of one band decorated with little bells and heads, another with geometric motifs based on the swastika, and a third with very elaborate flower decorations. A figure seated on a lotus flower seems to be the central motif. This piece of decoration was attached to the base of the stupa once it was completed. Examination of the foliage permits us to date it approximately in the 6th century. *Photograph: Brihat.*

98, 99. MAIN SANCTUARY, NALANDA. For many centuries Nalanda was the seat of a Buddhist university, the fame of which radiated as far as Japan. A large number of monasteries were built there to house, according to visitors' accounts, more than four thousand monks and students. Hiuan-ts'ang stayed here on his travels. A new, distinctive school of art developed here, thanks to foreign contributions, in particular Chinese influence, brought by the students. Numerous votive stupas at one time ornamented the courtyards of the buildings which are now in ruins. The Muslim invasions of 1200 destroyed for ever the buildings which made up this city of Buddhist learning. The main sanctuary, which is now very damaged, was built of brick and decorated with stucco friezes and statuary. A few stupas of lesser importance, with walls decorated with stucco sculpture, are still standing. They were mostly built between the 6th and 9th centuries. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

100. VOTIVE STUPA, NALANDA. This stupa is, unusually, built in the form of a tower with receding stories. On top of the tower (which is a little reminiscent of Chinese pagodas) rose the stupa on a double circular platform, decorated with projecting niches. The pilasters are good imitations of the columns of many-storied buildings. On the ground-floor there are niches with standing or seated Buddha figures. On the first floor these figures are set in the centre of a motif which is related to the *kudu.* The top story has no carved decorations. On the left, in the background, the decorated plinth of the main sanctuary can be seen, while, on the right, in the foreground, are other votive stupas of lesser importance.

101. CARVING, NALANDA. It represents a standing Buddha in a niche, surrounded by worshippers and Taras, female deities. The style is at once supple and soft. The narrow, almond-shaped eyes as well as the ornamentation framing the niche, are characteristic of the Far East.

I. The Art of the Gupta Style Caves

In the 5th century new caves, *caityas* and *viharas* appeared at Ajanta, all carrying the imprint of the style characteristic of the Gupta period. Carvings with representations of the Buddha in human form cover the walls. The *dagoba* has become very cylindrical and is decorated with a seated or standing figure. The porch is cut in the living rock and decorated with highly ornamented pillars. Floral motifs appear, notably that of the flower vase which probably derives from the vase of plenty, well known in oriental art. Little by little the flowers are laden with people and mythical figures and the vase becomes finally no more than a characterless outline. Lions, flying figures and human beings appear on the façades and the primitive arch *(kudu)* which had given its form to the entrances of *caityas* has become a simple, decorative motif without any architectural significance. Friezes appear on top of the columns which are now elongated and, have, besides cushion-shaped capitals, ornamented brackets. The most characteristic *caityas* of this period are those numbered 19 and 26 at Ajanta. A little later, about the beginning of the 7th century, the Visvakarma, this time at Ellora, has a façade with two stories which is more evolved than the preceding ones. Only a bull's-eye window illuminated the highest gallery while on the ground floor the light entered by the only door (Plate 120).

The *viharas* of this period are large and contain a great number of pillars and cells and a little sanctuary in which there is only the figure of the Buddha. They have one or more stories.

102. GENERAL VIEW OF THE CAVES, AJANTA. The Ajanta caves are situated in the side of a gorge through which a torrent flows, in the Western Ghats, in the extreme west of the State of Hyderabad. The sanctuaries and *viharas* are cut out in the horseshoe-shaped side of the gorge, in the black, compact trap which lies in horizontal layers. The first caves (according to the numbers which have been given to them but which do not follow the chronological order) lie on the extreme right of the photograph; *caitya* 10 lies on the extreme left and can be recognised by its large, horseshoe-shaped arch. There are altogether twenty-eight caves of which those numbered 9, 10, 19 and 26 have *caityas*. Several hundred monks lived there, which presupposes that the country around was inhabited by a fairly numerous and prosperous population. Many of the caves are decorated with mural paintings. It is difficult to date these, for they have often been repainted, bits added to older parts and heads refashioned. But the majority were carried out during the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. For the sake of convenience we have classified them all in the Gupta period, but our classification is imperfect and, in fact, some of them were carried out a little later. The oldest paintings, those of caves 9 and 10, are earlier than the Gupta period and were probably done well after the caves had been cut out. We will not therefore give an exact date for these paintings. As for the caves themselves, although it is impossible to date them with any great certainty, they can be given approximate dates without much risk.

103. PORCH, CAITYA 19, AJANTA. This cave is almost contemporary with *viharas* 1 and 2; it dates from the finest period of Ajanta art. The porch is simple in plan; it is supported by two columns and represents an imitation of the wooden porches to be found on the façades of earlier *caityas*. The very thick coping is decorated with a *kudu* on which appears a head. The columns are massive, ornamented with garlands and friezes with floral motifs.

104. INTERIOR, CAITYA 19, AJANTA. Its lay-out is classic with a semi-circular apse. The massive and highly decorated columns support a high frieze running all around the nave which has a vaulted roof with ribs in imitation of wooden construction techniques. The evolved *dagoba* is decorated with a standing Buddha in the middle of a sort of pavilion and resembles a ball placed on a very high cylindrical socle. The three umbrellas are supported by an enormous shaft and human figures. They are connected with the ceiling by means of an *amalaka* in the form of a vase. The caitya is 52 feet long, 26 feet wide and 26 feet high. The aisles have a flat ceiling and are separated from the nave by fifteen pillars, of about 10 feet high. This caitya is one of the most beautiful. It can be dated in the first half of the 6th century.

105. EXTERIOR OF CAVE 26, AJANTA. This *caitya* was cut a few years after *caitya* 19 and shows the same characteristic features as the latter but is considerably more ornate. Its façade is crowded with Buddha images, some of which were also carved between the beams of the inside of the arch. The style of the façade has here reached the peak of its development. At one time there was, in front of the three entrance doors of this sanctuary, a pillared porch which has now disappeared. It is possible to see the fracture and traces of the pillars on the ground. The interior of this chaitya is a little larger than that of cave 19, measuring 75 feet in length by 40 feet in width, and 36 feet in height. It contains 26 columns, 13 feet high. The stupa is extremely ornate, but its style is less elegant than that of cave 19.

106. DETAIL OF ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION, CAVE 1, AJANTA. This *vihara* was cut at more or less the same time as the *caitya*, that is to say, in the first part of the 6th century. It contains exquisitely decorated pillars which are of different types, some more, others less richly ornamented. They have a simple capital which consists of a rectangular support for the architrave flanked by two brackets. The top of the column (usually sixteen-sided) is supported by dwarfs. On the rectangular panel of the capital we can see a charming group of deer. The sculptor boldly contrived to make only one head serve for four bodies. The effect is admirable and in no way upsetting. On the brackets flying figures are carved. The columns were originally painted.

107. DETAIL OF A COLUMN, AJANTA. One of the characteristics of the best period of the art of Ajanta is the variety in the types of columns. Some of them have, between the abacus and the square base, a sixteen-sided shaft between two richly decorated octagonal sections; others have more complex shafts, sometimes cylindrical, sometimes with cable-mould fluting, and crowned with a turban-shaped capital on which the abacus rests. In both cases the entablature is supported by brackets.

It will be noted that the sides of the supports of the entablature are smooth and sometimes decorated with paintings. Here, the friezes are carved on the architrave. The base of the capital is decorated with divergent *makaras* and supported by dwarfs.

108. EXTERIOR DETAIL, CAVE 28, AJANTA. This head (which can be dated in the middle of the 6th century, at the time of the last excavations at Ajanta) is that of the Bodhisattva Padmapani, the "lotus bearer". It is one of the most beautifully expressive pieces of Ajanta carving. Time has blurred the outlines but the delicacy of the features and the superhuman calm of this figure are astonishing.

The infinite majesty of the pose, the execution, the incredibly sensitive expression, reflect the high degree of mastery of their subject which the artists of Ajanta had reached.

109. CAVE 2, AJANTA. The walls of this *vihara* are covered with carvings which used also to be painted. This relief represents a seated *yaksa* and *yaksini*. The *yaksa* seems to be making the gesture of dispelling fear, while his companion is amusing a little child. The dimensions of these carvings are large, reaching to the ceiling of the *vihara*, which is decorated with frescoes. Beneath these figures children play various games and two of them are inciting a pair of rams to combat. These *yaksas* may be protector spirits of childhood. The style is rather heavy and rigid, and well represents the post-Gupta ideal. Middle of the 6th century.

110. FRESCO AT THE ENTRANCE OF A VIHARA, AJANTA. The king who is represented here seems to be receiving visitors. He is seated on a throne while male and female servants sit around him on cushions. The floor seems to be covered with a carpet of a floral pattern. The attitudes are natural and the composition is divided up into panels separated by well arranged columns.

111. CAITYA 9, AJANTA. Fresco depicting the Buddha, painted on one of the pillars of this cave. It was probably repainted after AD 450 when the Mahayana Buddhist period began at Ajanta. It is very likely that this painting is one of the oldest there. It may date from the end of the 5th century.

112. FRESCO OUTSIDE VIHARA 17, AJANTA. The ceiling of the gallery of the *vihara* is divided into squares and rectangles and painted with floral and geometric designs, while the frieze above the doors is decorated with narrative scenes. Here we see a gathering of people in the courtyard of a house. Visitors are entering and leaving through a *torana* while others, inside, are looking on. The movement is lively and the composition in bands most decorative. The present warm colours must originally have been brighter. 6th century.

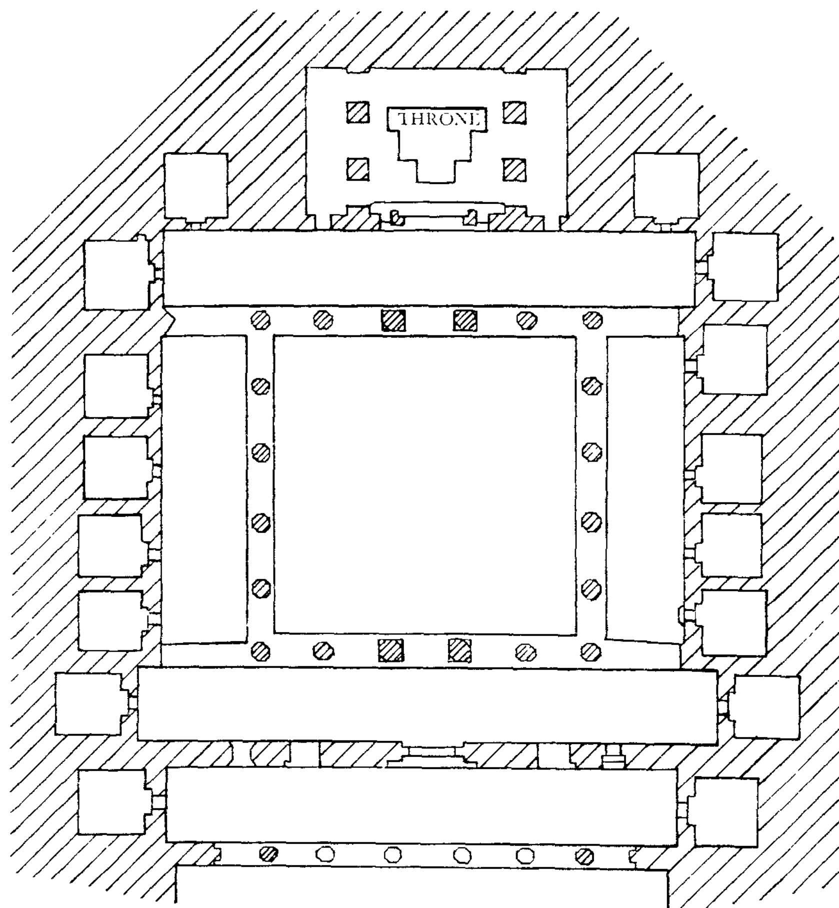


FIG. 14. PLAN OF VIHARA 16, SHOWING THE CELLS, ARRANGED REGULARLY AROUND THE HALL (PLATE 117)



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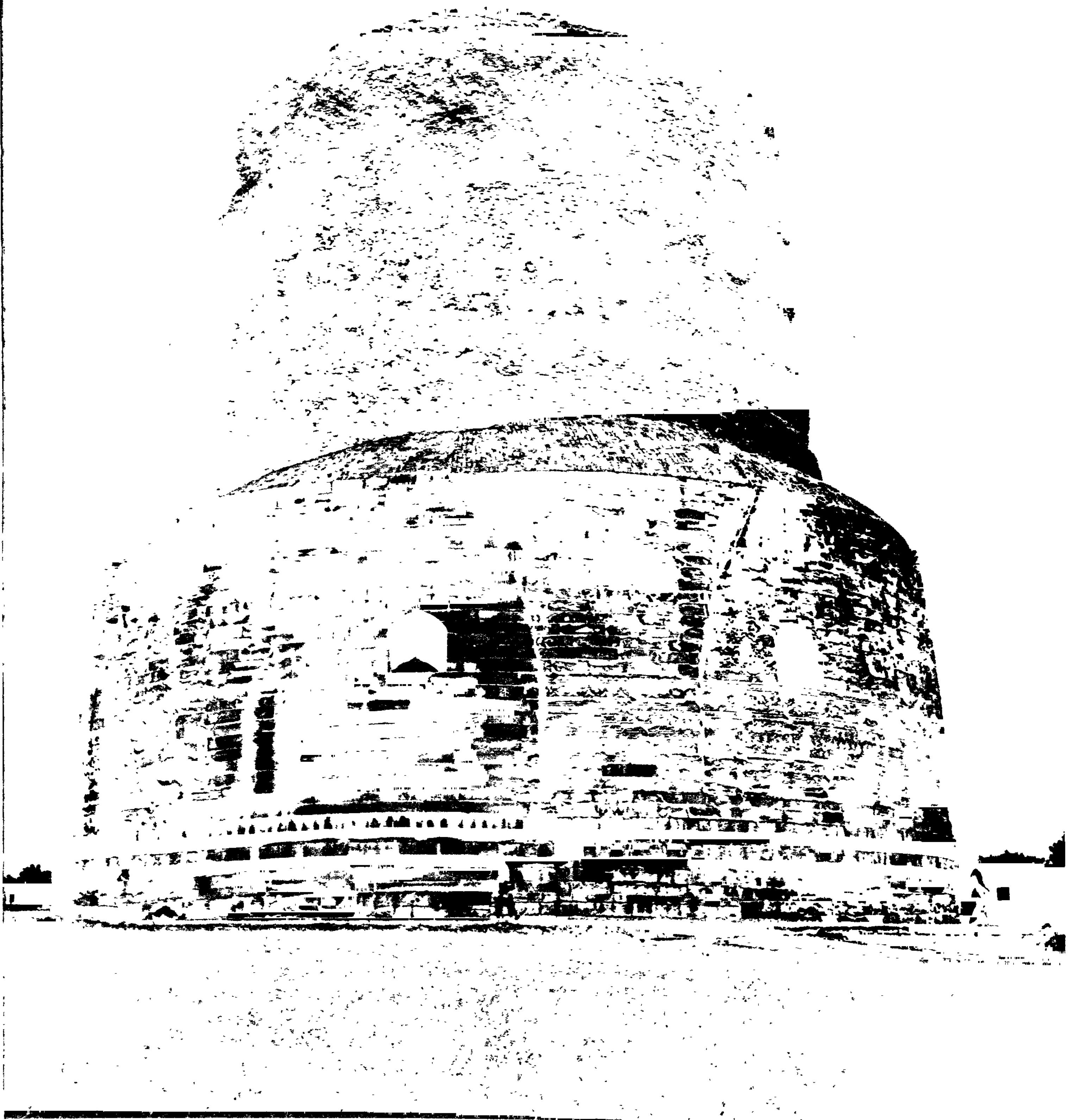
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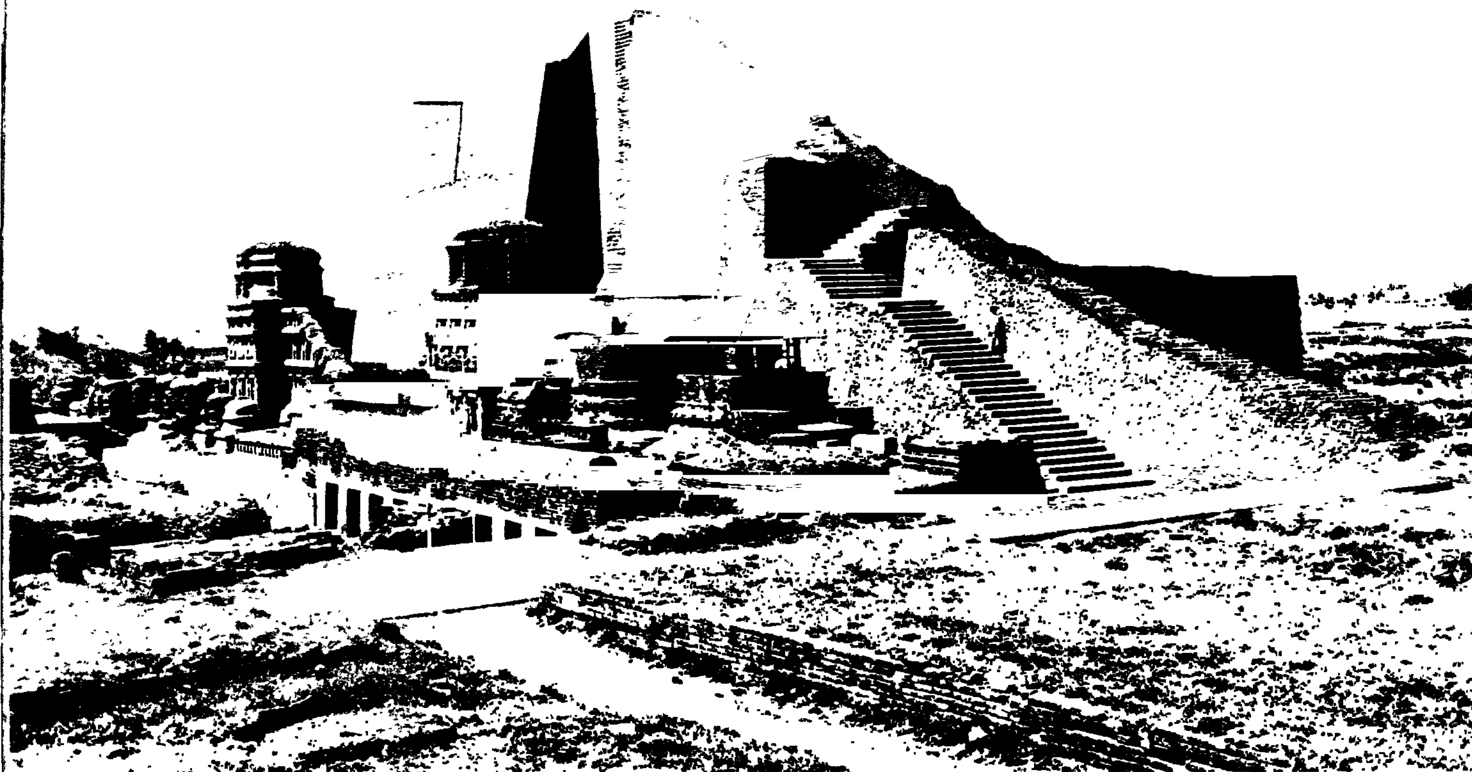

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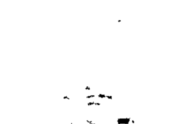
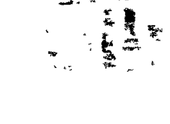


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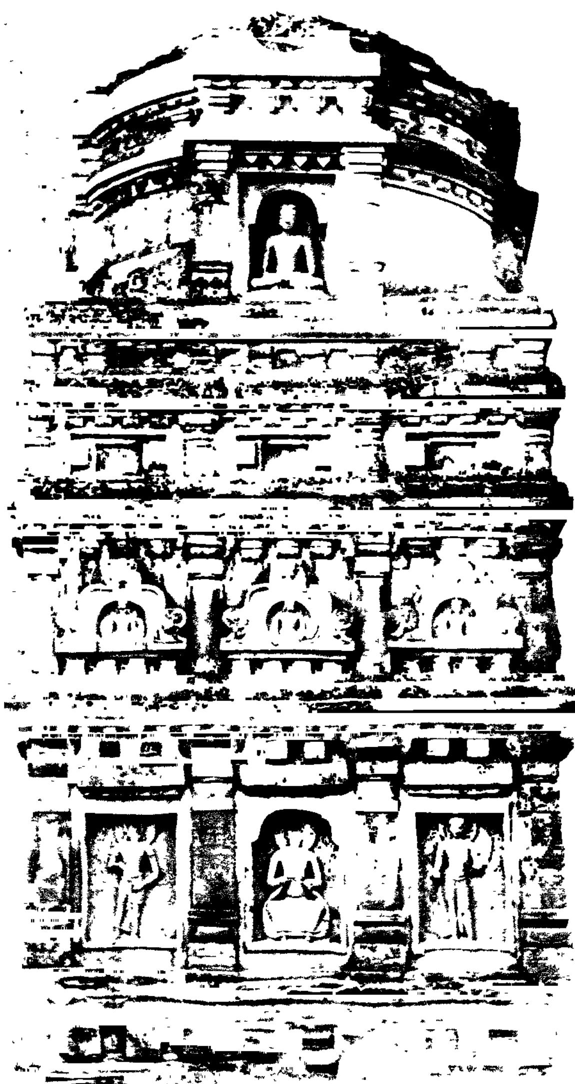




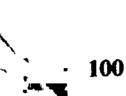




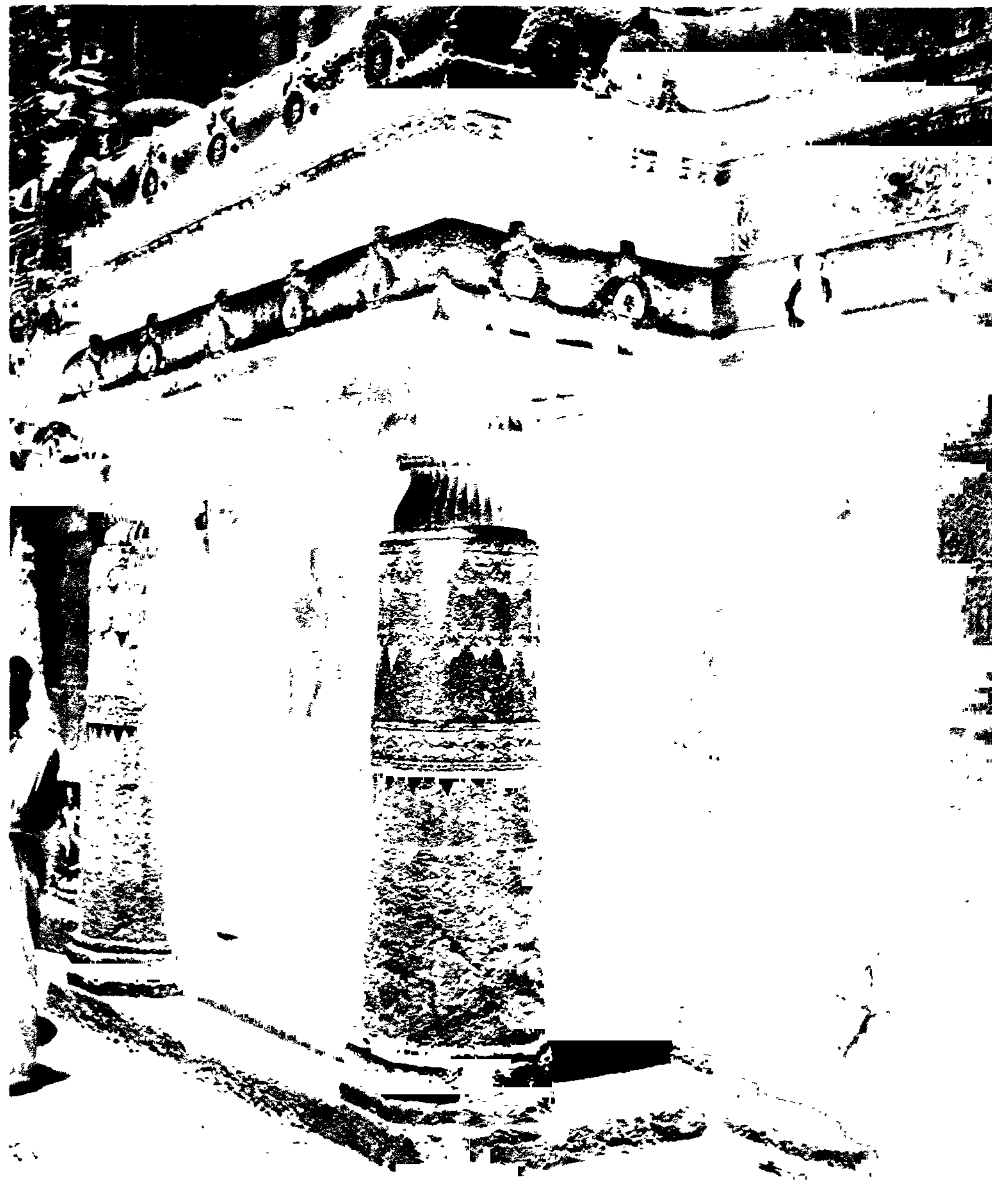


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II. Post-Gupta Caves

These caves were cut at Badami, Ellora, Yogesvari and Elephanta during the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries. In general they follow the layout of the Buddhist *viharas* of the preceding periods, but their dimensions are larger. They are decorated with representations of Brahmanical gods and of the Jaina Tirthankara. Some of these caves, of which two have several stories, are preceded by a courtyard in the middle of which stands a little pavilion. Others, like the Ravana ka Khai, the Ramesvara at Ellora and the large cave of the Island of Elephanta, contain a central sanctuary and at least two entrances, situated in different façades and opening into courtyards. The Yogesvari cave belongs to this type. The great hall is divided geometrically by rows of massive columns with cushion capitals.

The last type, which is a little special, is represented by the Kailasanatha of Ellora (Plate 144). It is not a true cave but rather a Brahmanical temple which has been entirely excavated from above in the rock of the mountain. It was completed under the Rastrakuta dynasty and reproduces a southern type of contructed temple of which examples may be seen at Pattadakal and at Kanchipuram.

This gigantic work is more than 100 feet high and contains, besides the central temple which is dedicated to Siva, a subsidiary temple, consecrated to Nandin, a massive entrance gate and several caves and *viharas* surrounding the courtyard; the temple itself rises from a high platform which is decorated with elephants. In the courtyard stand two life-size stone elephants and two pillars. The Kailasanatha makes an imposing and majestic impression; it is abundantly ornamented with friezes, carvings and all sorts of bas-reliefs, and each detail of the decoration shows very great skill. The whole complex is unique in world art. This temple was originally covered with stucco and decorated with frescoes of which unfortunately only few are well preserved.

The Jaina caves were cut last, almost all in the 9th century. The most remarkable ones are those of Ellora, of which the Indrasabha (Plate 152) is the most perfect type. It has two stories and consists of halls, decorated with pillars of the cushion-capital type, graceful carved figures and often complicated decorative friezes. These excavations mark the end of this type of "construction by excavation".

In the 9th century the caves were finally abandoned in favour of constructed temples which evolved into full maturity after many centuries of trial and error.

113. CAVES OF ELLORA. The most important centre of cave temples of this period is Ellora which lies on the edge of the Deccan among the outlying spurs of the Western Ghats. The caves are dedicated to the three religions of India, Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, and constitute one of the most important cave complexes. At Ellora there are twelve Buddhist, seventeen Brahmanic and five Jaina caves, besides several others of lesser importance which lie scattered about. The Buddhist group, which consists mostly of *viharas*, has only one *caitya*. The *viharas* sometimes have several stories. In the middle of these caves lies one of the most extraordinary monuments of the world, the Kailasanatha. All these caves were cut out between the 6th and 9th centuries by monks and laymen who lived under the Calukya (until 753) and Rastrakuta dynasties. We have classified the caves excavated under these two dynasties under the same heading, for the political change did not give rise to an appreciable change in style or technique.

114. CAVE 5, ELLORA. This Buddhist cave, which resembles a hall, is one of the largest of the group. It measures 115 feet in depth, 60 feet in width and contains thirty-four pillars which are divided into two rows which delimit the aisles on to which some twenty cells open. The centre of this gigantic hall is divided by two long parallel banks; it is impossible to say exactly what purpose they served, but they may have been refectory or study tables. At the far end of the cave is a niche in which the Buddha is represented in the attitude of teaching, a familiar pose in Mahayana Buddhism.

115. CAVE 2, ELLORA. This cave is reached by way of a staircase which leads to a stylobate, decorated

with dwarfs and grotesque figures. The cave is relatively large, measuring (not counting the galleries of each aisle) approximately 50 feet each side. It contains twelve columns which form a good example of the new style. The galleries lead through four pillars to seated Buddha statues. These pillars belong to the "foliage-vase" type. The cave seems to have been the main sanctuary of the Buddhist group of caves.

116. CAVE 29, ELLORA, called Dumar Lena. This cave is similar to the latest and most famous ones, like that of Elephanta. It consists of an immense, columned hall, measuring 165 feet each side. It is consecrated to Siva and was cut towards the beginning of the 7th century. The pillars, whose short shafts are mounted on rather high, rectangular bases, belong to the flat cushion type. The brackets are supported by dwarfs. The capitals and shafts of these columns are worked with delicate vertical sunk bands.

117. VIHARA 16, AJANTA, end of the 5th century. The pillars are of the same style with ribbed entablature supports. The subject is a dwarf serving as the bracket of a column, a motif found frequently in Indian architecture. This one is especially remarkable for its spread-out hair and the harmony of its proportions, for it is not a grotesque figure, as is often found later. Below, is a little frieze with two horsemen riding in opposite directions. The entablature supports, on the left and right, with their simple ornamental mouldings, are decorated with incised arabesques. The structure of the ceiling, with its beams and rafters, still imitates that of previous constructions.

118. CAVE 4, ELLORA. This cave is now considerably reduced in size; it used to be connected with cave 5 but its partial collapse has obstructed the original passage. This capital is formed by a vase with foliage, a type which appears in the last period of the art of Ajanta and which at Ellora co-exists with the turbaned capital which is enlarged disproportionately, apparently crushing the column. In comparison with Ajanta, the style is degenerate. The decoration is less varied and rich. The columns, which are unfinished, have enormous capitals which protrude from the shafts. Their genesis can be understood from a comparison with the capitals of the columns of cave 19 at Ajanta.

119. CAVE 11, CALLED DO TAL, ELLORA. In spite of its name, this cave is a *vihara* with three stories. Some of the cells contain statues of the Buddha with his different attributes. The walls are decorated with little figures of Bodhisattvas and of the Buddha. The pillars supporting the stories are square and little decorated.

120. CAVE 10, CALLED VISVAKARMA, ELLORA. This is the only *caitya* in existence at Ellora and, with the Do Tal and the Tin Tal, one of the last Buddhist caves. In contrast with the Ajanta *caityas* which open directly into the rock face, this one has a courtyard and an exterior gallery supporting a covered balcony which is decorated with friezes depicting hunting scenes. The sanctuary is entered by a relatively narrow gate after traversing the exterior gallery. The arch of this *caitya* has developed complicated serpentine decorations. The arch itself is reduced in size and serves as a window. Two semi-arches serve to support it, also framing the doorway of the balcony. The top of this composition is decorated with flying figures. On either side of the main arch are niches containing Buddha statues. That on the right is surmounted by an arch which has evolved in a similar manner, the other one by *kudus* built on top of each other, almost like a honey-comb and sheltering different figures. An evolved form of this motif can be seen for instance at Pattadakal. This façade is one of the most beautiful decorating the Buddhist caves. The capitals of the columns of the exterior gallery are of the "foliage-vase" type. Beginning of the 7th century.

121. SANCTUARY, CAVE 10, ELLORA. It is rectangular in shape and extended by an apse. Twenty-eight octagonal columns separate the nave from the aisles. The capitals of these columns are not ornamented. The wide frieze of the entablature, on the other hand, is profusely decorated. The *dagoba* consists of a high cylindrical structure, crowned with a flattened sphere and surmounted by a composite *harmika*. The front of the *dagoba* is decorated with a gigantic statue of a seated Buddha, flanked by the figures of two servants which are joined by an arch, decorated with flying figures and a pipal tree. The *dagoba* is 26 feet high. The *caitya* is 82 feet long, 43 feet wide and about 33 feet high. The vault is ribbed like that of previous *caityas*, imitating ancient wood constructions.

122. DETAIL OF THE VAULT, CAVE 10, ELLORA. Each side of the vault of this *caitya* rises from a *naga* or *nagini* head carved immediately above the frieze of the entablature which is divided into panels. Each of the panels of this frieze depicts a scene showing the Buddha, seated, and worshippers, attendants and deities. The narrow running frieze serving as its base, is animated by dwarfs, dancing, singing and playing musical instrumants.

123. CAVE 10, ELLORA. Frieze of the interior balcony, depicting female figures alternating with celestial couples. Their attitudes are supple and harmonious. Floral motifs separate and surmount the figures in a continuous band.

124. CAVE 15, CALLED DAS AVATARA, ELLORA. The style of the architectural decoration and of the carvings is more recent than that of caves 21 (Ramesvara), 14 (Ravana ka Khai) and 29 (Dumar Lena) of the same site. It has two stories. The ground-floor is embellished with bas-reliefs and contains fourteen square pillars without decoration The first floor measures 60 feet in length and 108 feet in depth, containing forty-four rectangular pillars. Only the pillars of the façade are richly decorated with the "foliage-vase" motif in which dwarfs and serpents intermingle. The walls of this vast hall are divided into panels; on one side are carvings relating to Visnu, on the other representations of Siva. At either end of the exterior balcony a large *dvarapala* is carved.

125. SERVANT GIRL, CAVE 21, ELLORA. This carving is situated in a sort of chapel on the right-hand side of the cave. In certain respects she is reminiscent of the best works in the Gupta style without, on the other hand, showing its main characteristics. She holds a fly-whisk made of horse's hair, used by the servants of royal persons.

126. CAVE 14, CALLED RAVANA KA KHAI, ELLORA. This Brahmanical cave contains sixteen pillars. The hall measures 53 feet by 55 feet from in front of the sanctuary, which contains an ambulatory. The north and south walls are divided into panels, separated by half-columns or pilasters, with bases decorated with figures in bas-relief. The centre of the panels contains large sculptures in haut-relief, depicting different forms of Siva and Visnu. On the north wall we see Visnu in his form of the Boar, rescuing the Earth from universal destruction. He has placed his left foot on Ananta and is holding the vaisnavite disk in his uplifted right hand. Supplicant *nagas* surround him.

127. LINGOBHAVAMURTI, CAVE 15, ELLORA. This statue which is situated on the end wall, shows Siva emerging from the *linga* to prove to Brahma and Visnu (on the right, at the back, in the form of a boar) that he is superior to them. Here we see Brahma, with three of his faces visible, flying to the top of the *linga* to see where this ends. Brahma stands on the left, Visnu, in the same pose, on the right.

128. CAVE 14, ELLORA. On the south wall of this cave Siva, dancing the *Tandava*, is carved. He stands on a sort of pedestal. The skeleton hides behind his right leg while attendants play on the tambourine and fife. Parvati stands on his left, accompanied by two dwarfs. In the top corners other gods are watching the dance: Indra with his elephant, Agni on his ram, Brahma and Visnu. The general mood is elevated and dynamic as becomes such a dance. The pilasters on either side are decorated with the same figures as those on the opposite wall.

129. SIVA DANCING THE TANDAVA, CAVE 15, ELLORA. This is the same theme as we saw depicted in cave 14, but the movement of this one is more emphatic and gives the impression of a frenzied, merciless dance. The main figure appears to want to leave the wall in order to be able to dance more freely. The balanced dynamism of the preceding relief contributed a somewhat sedate harmony to the treatment of the movement. Here the frenzy seems to be about to get the better of it.

130. NARASIMHA, CAVE 15, ELLORA. The same sense of dynamism in this relief justly makes it one of the most famous works of Hindu art. This time Visnu manifests himself in the form of a man-lion, emerging from a lotus; armed with a sword and shield, he prepares to punish the impious king Hyranyakasipu. This fighting attitude, with the legs of the two adversaries interlocked, resembles that of a dance. The movements are exquisite, the bodies supple and the thin material of the dress floats in the air. The legs are unfortunately broken.

131. ELEPHANTA, BOMBAY. Another characteristic of post-Gupta carvings is their sense of grandeur, of divine majesty, and sometimes their love of the colossal. The cave of Elephanta is situated on an island in the middle of the bay of Bombay, and was so called because of the stone elephant which was found there. Like all the late temples of Ellora, it has three entrances and some secondary sanctuaries. The central hall is rectangular in shape and opposite the main entrance, in a gigantic niche, flanked by two *dvarapalas*, is the gigantic carving representing Siva. Siva, the lord with three faces, has his feminine aspect, Uma, on his right and, on his left, his destructive aspect, Bhairava. End of the 8th century.

132. MAHESAMURTI, ELEPHANTA, BOMBAY. This photograph shows in greater detail the face of Siva in his creative and preserving aspect and the profile of his destructive aspect. The physiognomy of the faces is regular and sensual, the features are a little podgy but testify to an astonishing mastery in the art of carving. This triple head which cannot fail to impress by its dimensions as well as by its superhuman calm was the only statue which was not destroyed by the Portuguese who, after their conquest, shot at all the images of deities in their iconoclastic fury. They dared not destroy what, to their minds, might be the image of the Holy Trinity.

133. STONE SIVA, PAREL, BOMBAY. This carving, which is admirably preserved, was recently discovered at Parel, one of the suburbs of Bombay. It



FIG. 15. SKETCH OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE STONE SIVA, PAREL (SEE PLATE 133)

was lying face downwards and thousands of people walked over it without suspecting its existence. Not until the road was repaired did the workmen turn it over. The style is exactly the same as that of the Elephanta carvings and one may rightly wonder if the face of the Mahesamurti was not the work of the same artist. The whole relief reveals an astonishing feeling for composition (see fig. 15). The stone is now where it was discovered, sheltered in a little modern temple, the ugliness of which clashes with the beauty of the image.

134. CAVE PILLAR, KANHERI. Its style is reminiscent of that of the Dumar Lena and of Elephanta. There are more than a hundred caves in the Kanheri complex, the excavation of which lasted from the 2nd to the 9th century. Some of the caves, usually the small ones, sometimes have gigantic pillars, like this one, which are simply columns with sixteen-sided cushion capitals, with a support for the architrave and a quare base.

135. GREAT CAITYA, KANHERI. In this Buddha, on the left side of the vestibule, we see the same taste for the gigantic and the "inflated" modelling of the auxiliary Ajanta Buddhas. This one is about 20 feet high and was carved towards the 6th century, well after the completion of the *caitya*. This figure, as well as the panel which surmounts it, has the characteristics of the style. Note the hair-style of the woman on the extreme right. The proportions are a little lacking in skill; the right arm seems detached from the body.

136. UNFINISHED FRESCO, KANHERI. This fresco, to which the colours were never been applied, is situated on the ceiling of the vestibule of a sanctuary in which a figure of the Buddha is carved in the same attitude, that of calling the earth to witness. It demonstrates how the artists of the period set about such a work. The outlines are done in lamp-black. A frieze with elephants was to have ornamented the base. It is difficult to assign an exact date to this fresco, but the facing *makaras* in the background may be related to the late Gupta style (7th century).

137. VIEW OF THE VILLAGE AND SACRED LAKE, BADAMI. At one time called Vatapi, the name of a demon which haunted this area, this impoverished looking village was the capital of the empire of the Calukyas, great warriors and builders of temples. The town was conquered and destroyed by the Pallavas in 640. The Calukyas rebuilt it but were finally replaced by the Rastrakutas in 753. A large number of temples were built in and around the town, and near it are four caves, three Brahmanical and one Jaina, from which one has a view of the town.

138. CAVE 3, BADAMI. This cave, of which an inscription tells us that it was excavated in 578, has a frontal gallery, decorated with six rectangular pillars, carved with delightful medallions and brackets representing couples. The columns, with their turban capitals and the ribbed support of the entablature, are reminiscent of the older Ellora caves. The cella, which is wider than it is deep, has a double row of pillars. The sanctuary gives on to the entrance. On the left of the gallery is a statue of Visnu seated on the seven-headed serpent. At his feet is a frieze of mischievous dwarfs. The sandstone formation of the hill shows streaks which are visible on the columns and on the carvings.

139. CEILING, CAVE 3, BADAMI. This ceiling with swastika design, is one of many which ornament the free spaces between the entablatures of the pillars of the gallery. The corners are filled with flying couples.

140. MEDALLION, CAVE 3, BADAMI. This medallion may represent Indra and Indrani with a follower. The drawing of the lower limbs of these figures is sacrificed deliberately to the composition of the medallion.

141. BRACKET, CAVE 3, BADAMI. The execution of this group is remarkable. The woman, threatened by a serpent, makes a quick movement of the hips while the man holds her back by her arm. As the parasol indicates, he is a king. We are dealing with Siva, for the tambourin and the axe are characteristic of him. The meaning of this carving may be: "Be not afraid of the serpent, poor soul: am I not the Lord of Creation?"

142. AIHOLE. General view of a Brahmanical cave.

143. AIHOLE. Detail of the preceding cave. Haut-relief depicting Durga fighting the demon, Mahisa, in the form of a buffalo. Durga is here an incarnation of Visnu, as the disc and conch confirm. The goddess is armed. With a spear she stabs the body of the buffalo which she crushes under her knee. Durga's lion, on the right, watches the battle. The treatment of this carving is elegant and comes close to that of the decorations of the temple of Virupaksa. The cutting of this cave must therefore have taken place more or less in the same period (740).

144. THE KAILASANATHA OF ELLORA (middle of the 8th century). Here we see the sanctuary, which rises to a height of about 92 feet, and the roof of the porch or hypostyle chapel, which is decorated with roaring lions. A few feet from the walls of this temple, which was cut from one single rock, the vertical cliffs rise up. Above, the slopes of the hill continue their gentle slope. Thus, the temple lies in the middle of a vast, rectangular pit, on a plinth 26 feet thick on which life-size elephants and lions

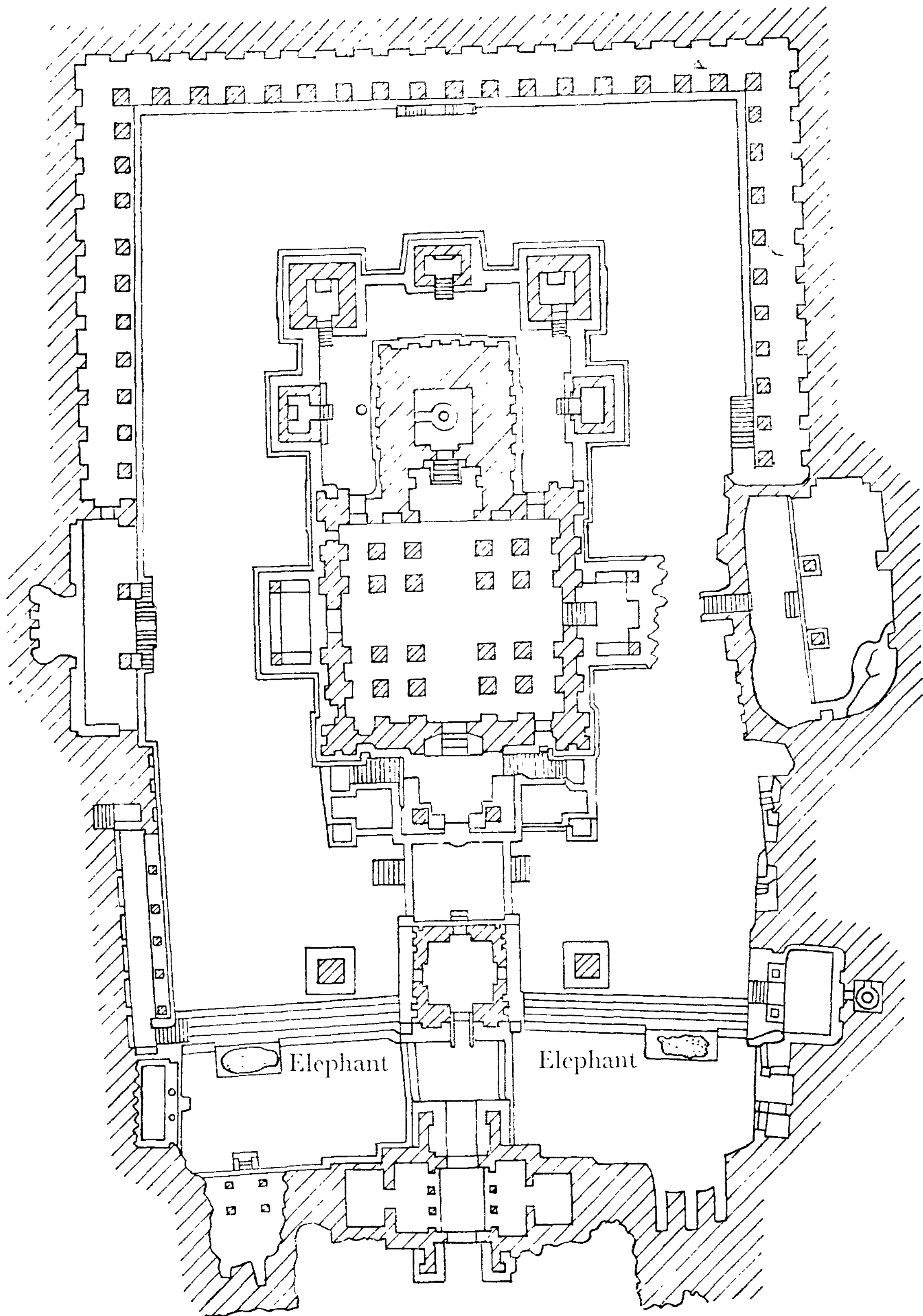


FIG. 16. GENERAL LAY-OUT OF THE CUT-OUT TEMPLE AT ELLORA CALLED THE KAILASANATHA (PLATE 144)

are carved. The sanctuary is reached by way of a double staircase going two stories high. In front of the *mandapa* and connected with it by a bridge stands the Nandin pavilion at a distance of 20 feet and connected by a bridge with the entrance gate. In the courtyard, two life-size elephants stand facing each other on either side of the temple. All round the temple are caves carved in the vertical rock wall, serving as additional sanctuaries.

145. TOP OF THE ROOF OF THE PORCH, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. This roof is carved with a lotus flower, from the centre of which arises a small square dome. Four roaring lions, set at the corners of this dome, so that each pair faces the other, seem to be the guardians of the four cardinal points. Miniature buildings of different heights decorate the sides of the roof.

146. DOME OF THE VIMANA, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. This dome belongs to the same type as that of the Kailasanatha; it is octagonal and has, on each of the four corners of the platform on which the dome rests, a carved Nandin. The sanctuary has three receding stories, decorated with miniature models of buildings and supported by Dravidian-type pilasters. The base of each side of the dome is decorated with a *kudu*. The roof of each story has friezes carved with animals. The finial of the dome has disappeared.

147. KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. Detail of a corner of the *mandapa* roof.

148. FRONTAL PROJECTION OF THE SANCTUARY, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. This projection is arch-shaped; the lateral niches are surmounted by *kudus* with very elongated finials. On the top is a carving of a lion pulling down a buffalo.

149. RIVER CAVE, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. This subsidiary sanctuary, with one of the two elephants in front, is cut in the same manner as the other caves of Ellora. Two large *dvarapalas*, one on either side of the sanctuary, guard it. Three niches inside hold the effigies of the goddesses Ganga on a *makara*, Yamuna on a tortoise and Sarasvati on a lotus flower. The backs of the panels are decorated with plant and bird motifs. The dimensions of the cave, which has two stories, are very small. The railing of the upper floor has a frieze decorated with vases. The entablature of the lower-floor columns is divided into regular panels with representations of couples. To judge from the central motif, this cave could be Buddhist. The rock overhangs the cave and seems to crush it under its weight.

150. DETAIL OF THE CARVING, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. Surya, the Sun, is mounted on his chariot, drawn by two horses (instead of seven). He shoots arrows and Brahma is his charioteer. Flying figures cling to the surrounding walls. As this scene is carved in a corner, the horses are cut at an angle of 90 degrees to the chariot. All the carvings and superstructures of the Kailasanatha were originally covered with stucco and painted, and the stucco still sticks in the hollows of this carvings.

151. FRIEZE IN BAS-RELIEF, KAILASANATHA, ELLORA. On each side of the temple, friezes in bas-relief recount episodes from the religious epics of India, particularly from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Battle scenes alternate with more intimate ones. The war-chariot holds an important place in these friezes.

152. CAVE 33, CALLED THE INDRA-SABHA, ELLORA. The Jainas went on cutting sanctuaries in the rocks of Ellora until relatively recently. The style of this cave is more recent than that of the Kailasanatha. This sanctuary has two stories, supported by many, richly decorated pillars. The upper story contains the statues of the twenty-four Tirthankaras of Jaina prophets, and representations of gods worshipped by the Jainas, especially Indra and Indrani. The ceiling of the main sanctuary is carved in the form of an immense lotus flower. Indra and Indrani face each other from either end of the gallery of the first floor. Here we see Indra seated on his elephant and attended by two servants. Above the god a flower-garland, on which peacocks are seated, shelters his head. The cave of Indra-Sabha is one of the most delicately decorated of the Ellora caves.

153. FRESCO, CAVE 33, ELLORA. In the Indra-Sabha many frescoes have remained adhering to the ceiling and walls. The railings, brackets and entablature supports were painted all over with geometric designs and religious scenes. The style of these frescoes is clearly decadent compared with that of Ajanta. They were probably repainted rather late; this would explain their good state of preservation. This point should be borne in mind.



FIG. 17. FRESCO FROM CAVE 10 AT AJANTA DEPICTING A SCENE FROM THE SHADDANTA JATAKA



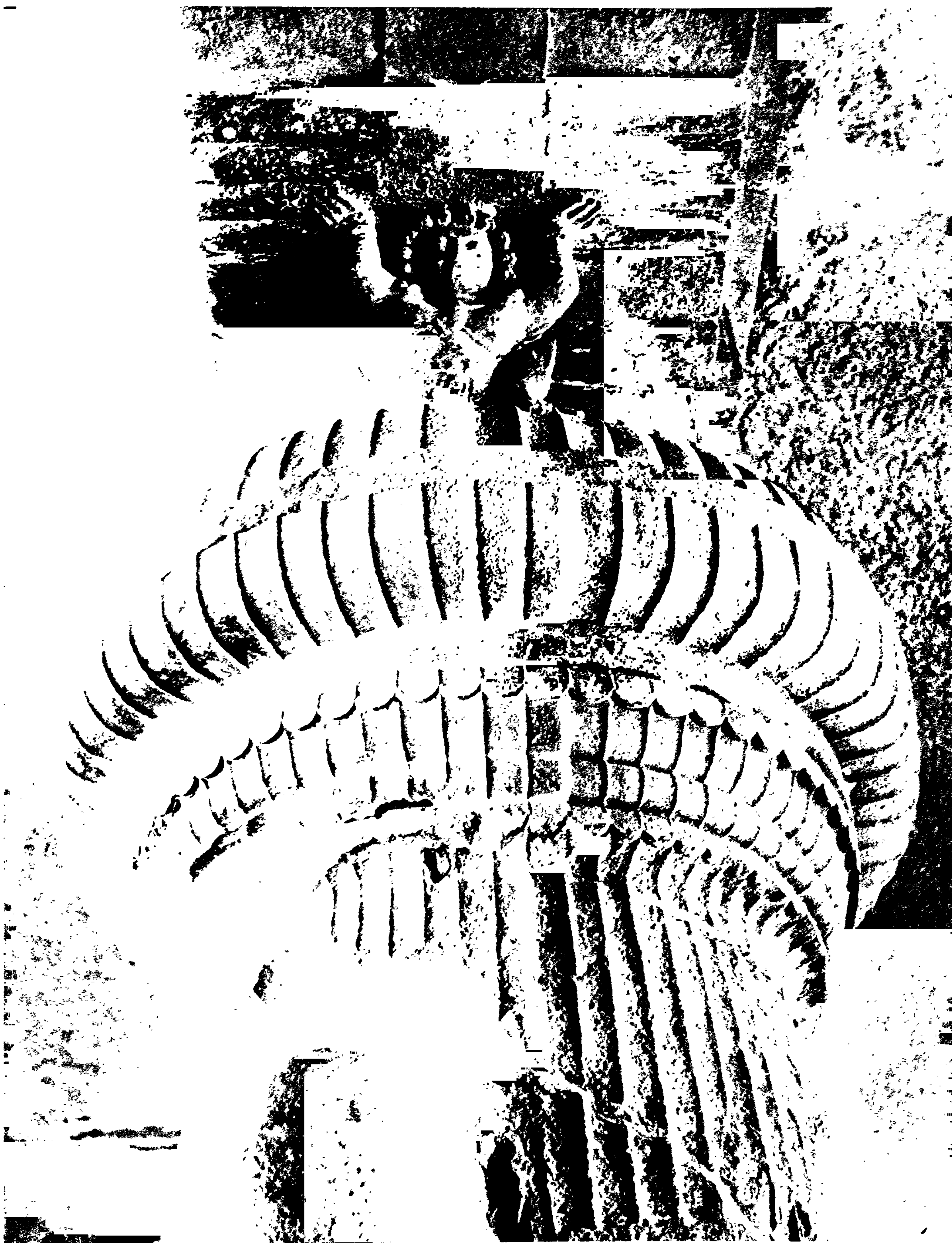
FIG. 18. FRESCO FROM CAVE 17 AT AJANTA, DEPICTING A GROUP OF GHANDARVAS AND APSARASES

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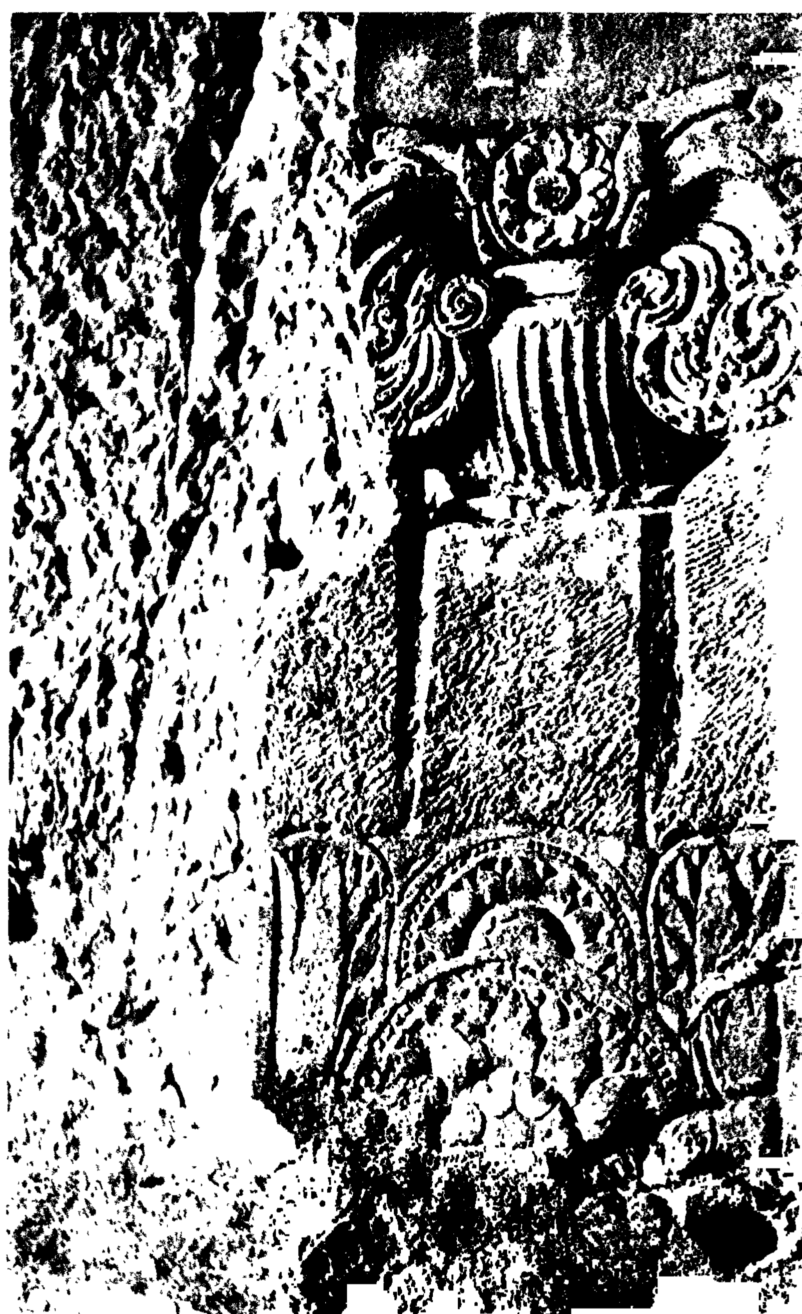


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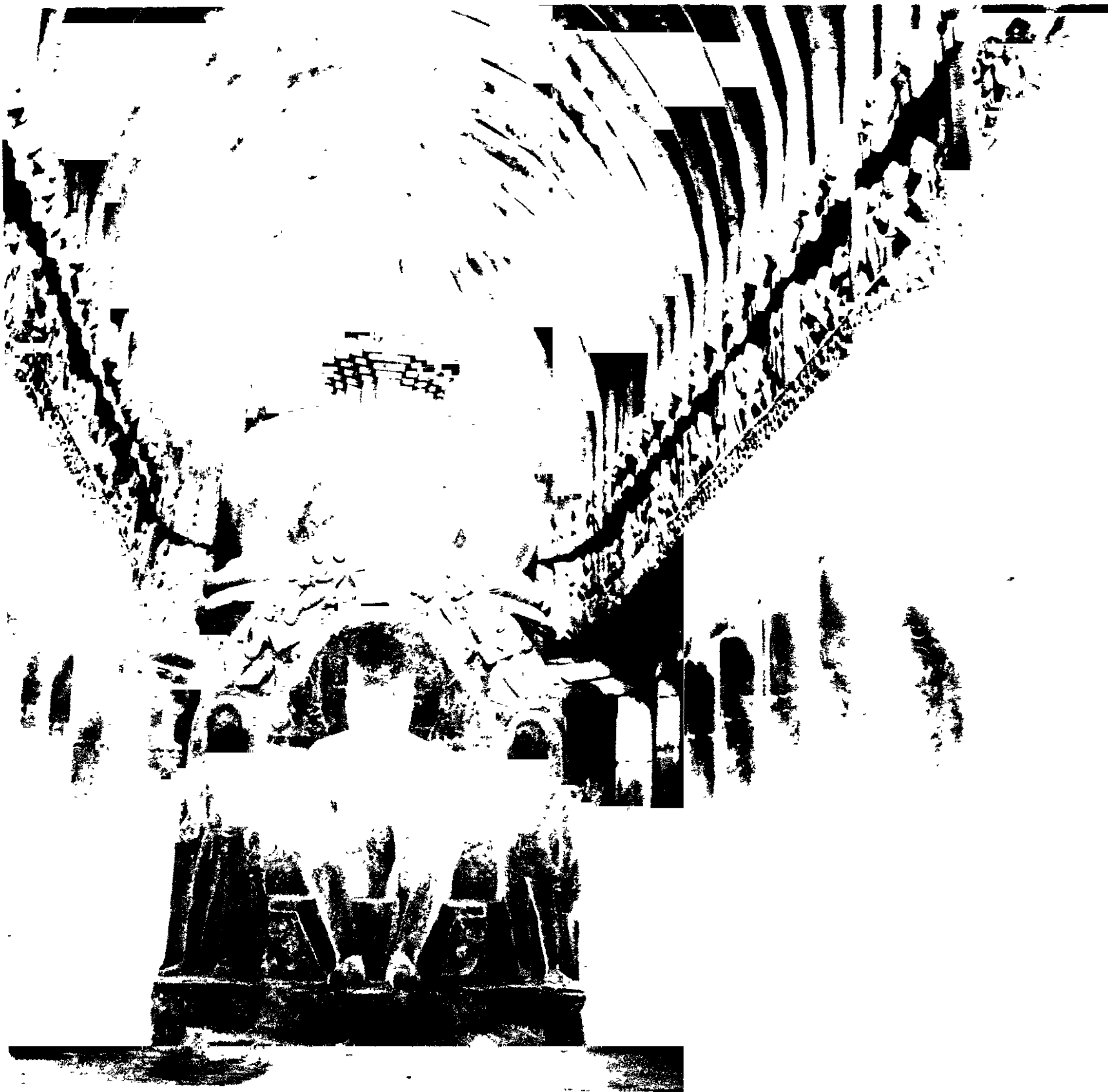


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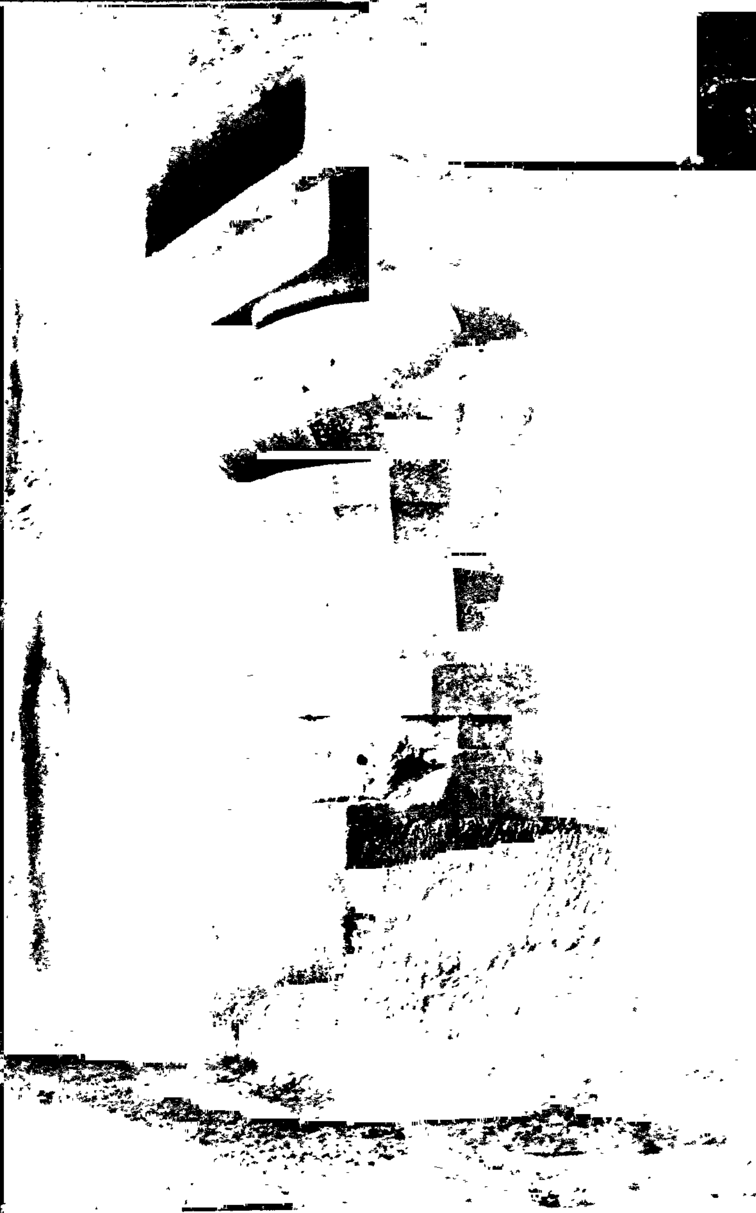
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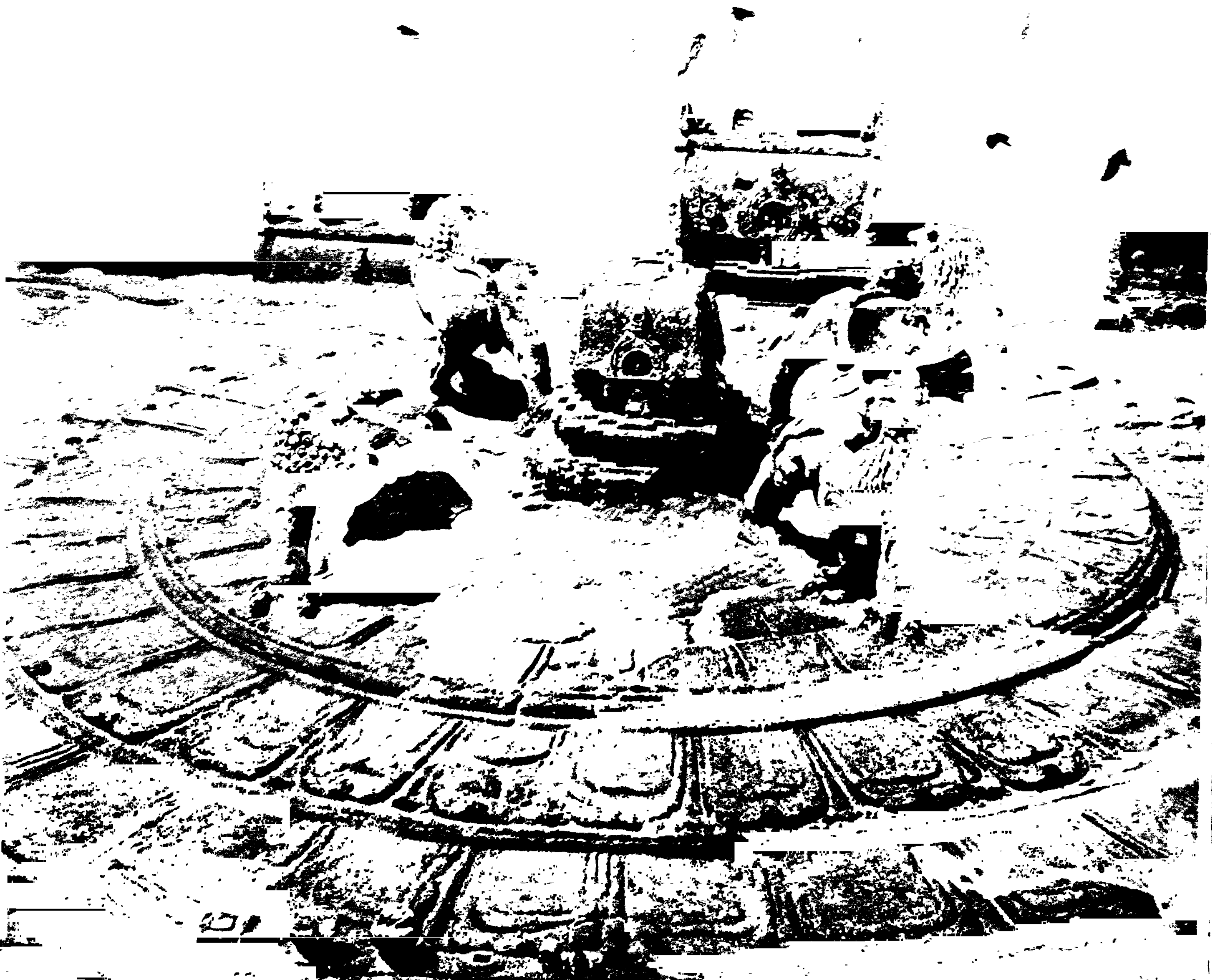


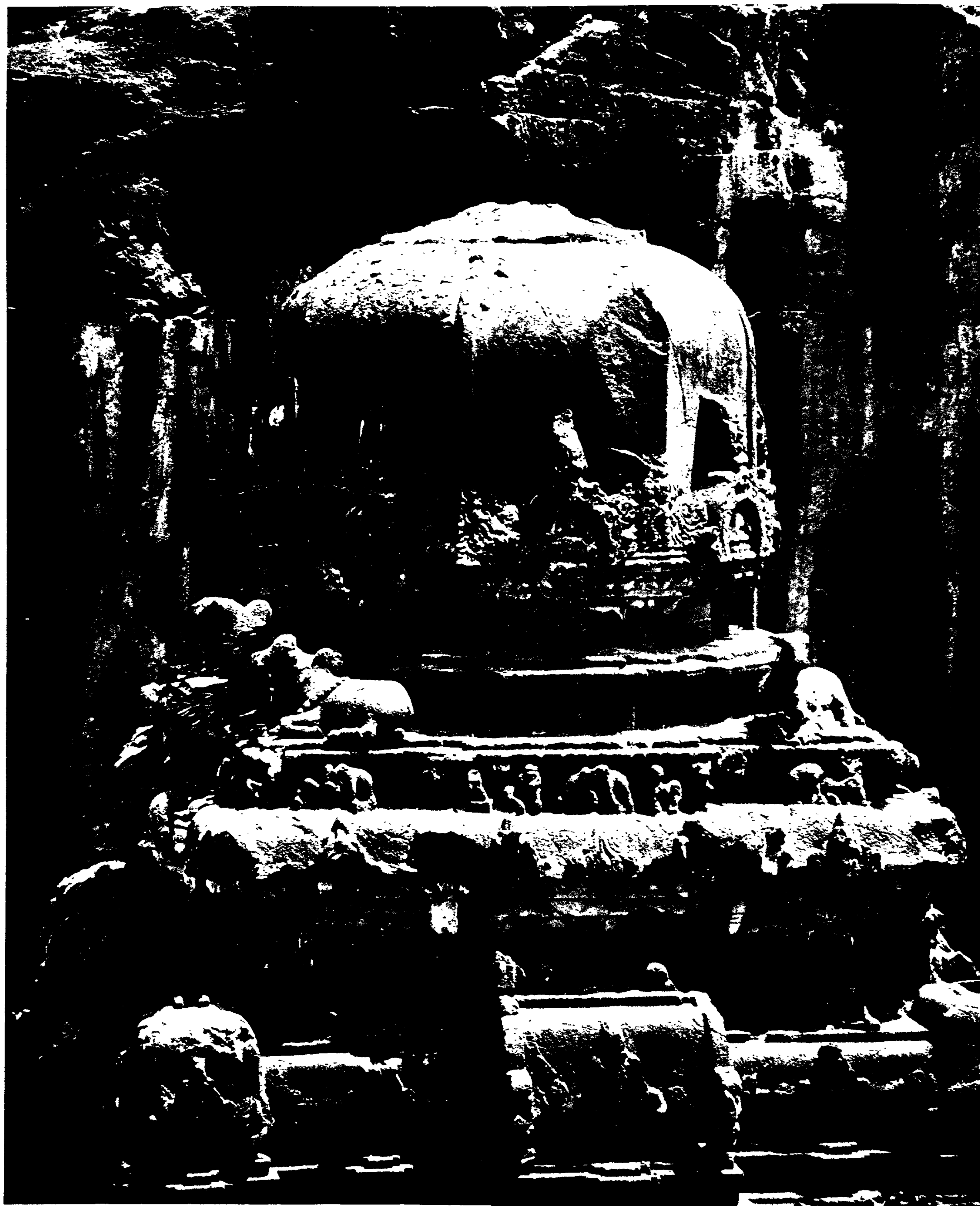


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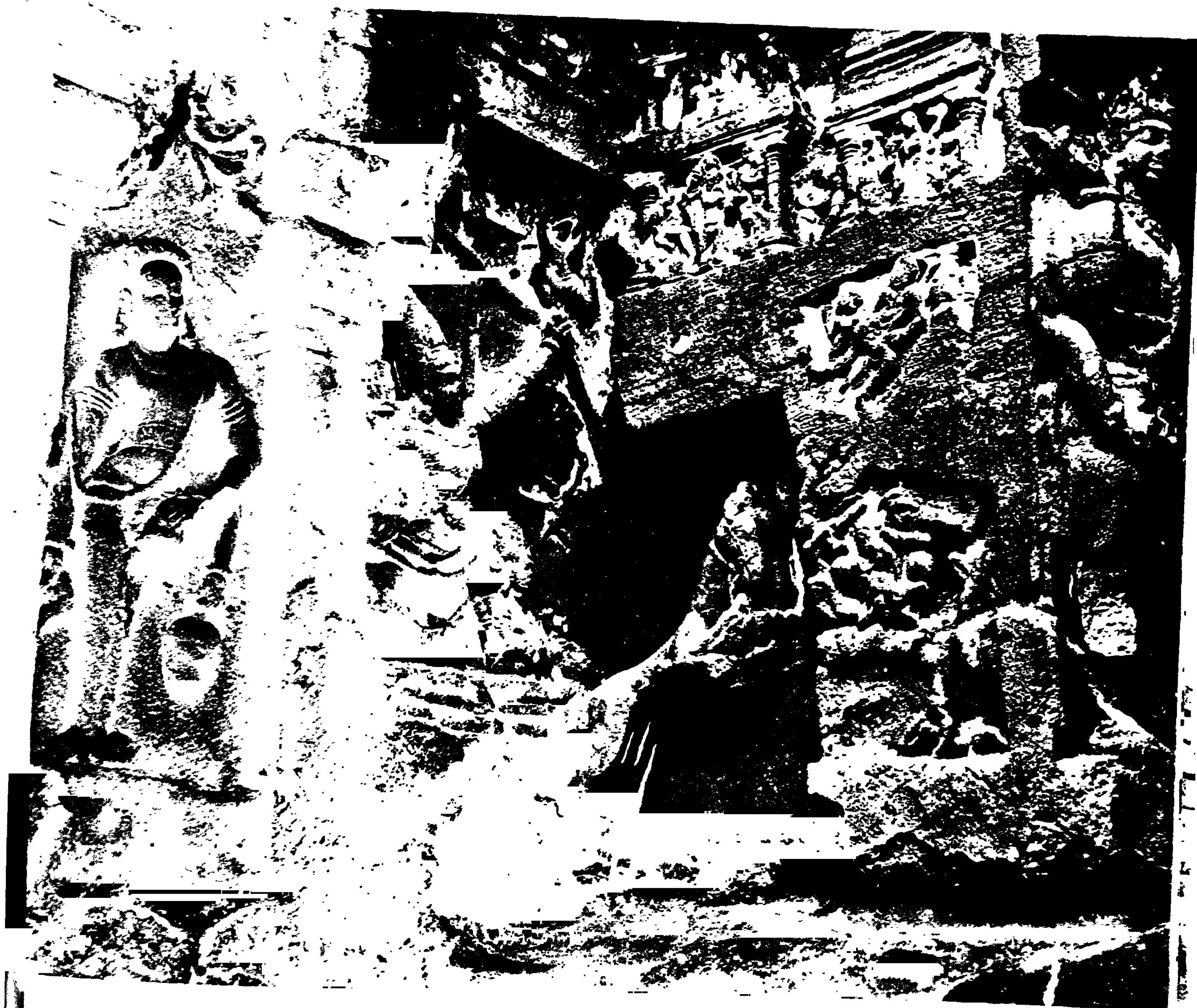


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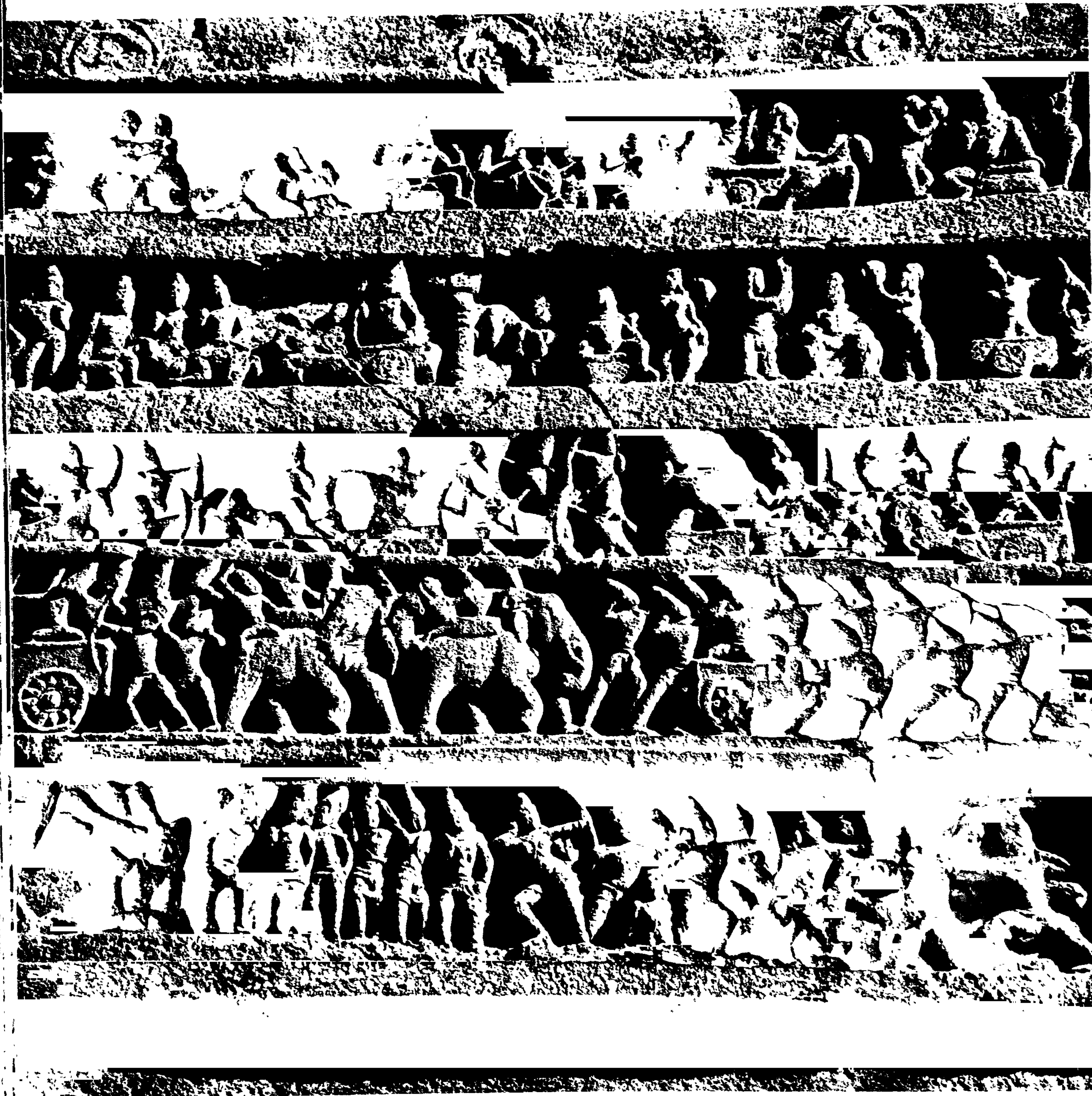
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III. Structural Architecture

Towards the 9th century the old technique of excavating sanctuaries from the living rock disappeared in favour of structural architecture, making use of bricks or stone. The oldest testimonies of this new technique in India proper dates from not before the Gupta period. Before embarking on a study of temples built in the open, it would undoubtedly be useful to give a short sketch of the history of this new type of architecture.

Constructed temples had without any doubt been in existence for a very long time, but since they were built from perishable materials, they have disappeared completely and we know them only from their representations, or from imitations in stone (at Mamallapuram) or from certain elements which the makers of the stupas, sanctuaries and rock monasteries had borrowed from wood-building techniques.

The Gandharan temple at Jandial, near Taxila, which has a pronaos, a naos and an opistodome, and makes use of Ionian columns, is still more Greek than Indian.

The most ancient Indian temple is number 17 at Sanchi. Its dimensions are small and it consists of a minute sanctuary which is preceded by a vestibule which has columns with bell-shaped capitals. Lions are carved on the abacus, a distorted memory of the Persepolitan capital which still survives at Tigowa.

The most famous Gupta temples are those of Bhumara, Deogarh, Nachna, Mundesvari and the group of Eran in Malwa, which was built at the height of the Hephthalite conquests. The oldest temples in the south, those of Badami and Aihole, in the middle of the future Calukayan empire, date from the same period. We will deal with them at the beginning of Calukyan architecture, for this will allow a backwards glance before starting on new developments, thus showing their perfect continuity of evolution.

The chronology of all these temples can be determined with satisfactory precision by studying their decorations carefully. Columns are rare, but the evolution of the column in the rock-cut temples is coupled with that of other decorative elements, particularly the *kudu* and the foliage motifs. These elements permit us to place the constructed temples in relation to the chronology established for the caves.

Although, in spite of some local differences the style of the decoration is more or less consistent, the type of temple is, in the beginning, liable to important variations. For the architects have to resolve a new problem which justifies some tentative experiments: this is the problem of the roof. The Indians did not use the true arch which had been known for a long time in the Near East, but progressively reduced the area to be covered by means of superimposed courses, each of which projected beyond the lower one, the so-called "corbelled arch".

The elongated temples, which are rare, are covered by false cradle-vaulted roofs as, for instance, at Ter and Chezarla. The square sanctuaries offer more variety and their roofs sometimes develop considerably, as, for instance, that of Gop, where it crushes the cella with its mass. The architects tried their utmost to give some elegance to these elevations whereas the Brahmans, rabid symbolisers as they were, seized on this new element, built up a scaffolding of speculation about its significance and, at the same time, codified its form and proportions.

After the 8th century, these experiments resulted in two types, which are called *nagara* and *dravida* in the Indian texts, terms which may be translated by "Indo-Aryan" and "Dravidian", although the significance of these terms must be restricted since they carry an erroneous implication of geographical distinction.

The essential characteristic of the Indo-Aryan temple is a bulletshaped tower, a *sikhara*, which is itself crowned by an ornament in the shape of a ribbed turban, the *amalaka*. The *sikhara* appears on the temples of the Calukyan capitals. The sanctuary is surmounted by a *sikhara* and preceded by a *mandapa*, a hall covered with flat slabs, which opens to the outside through a pillared porch.

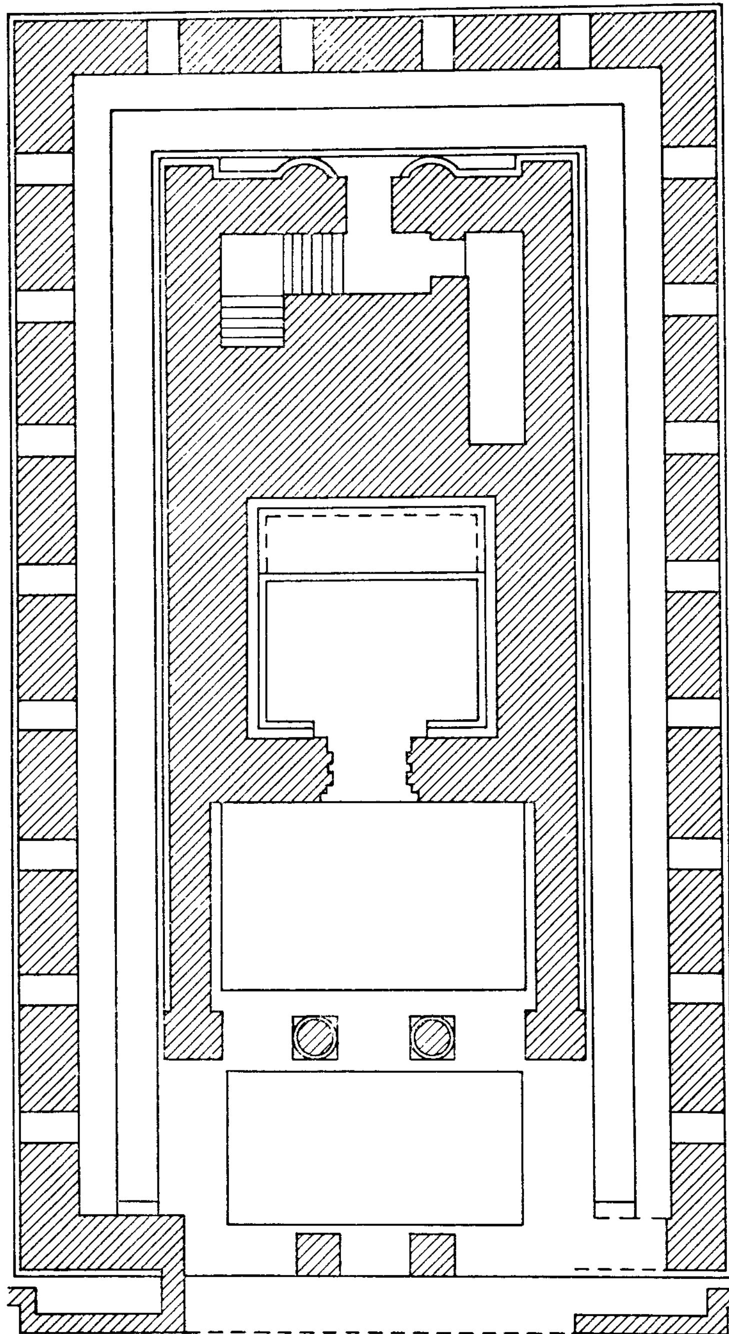


FIG. 19. LAY-OUT OF THE TEMPLE OF JANDIAL, SHOWING SIMILARITIES WITH THE LAYOUT OF GREEK TEMPLES

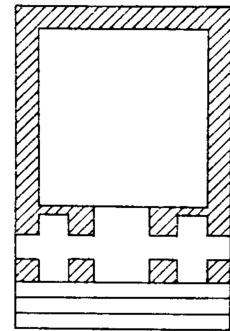


FIG. 20. LAY-OUT OF TEMPLE 17, SANCHI

The method adopted in the Dravidian type consists of a division of the roof into stories which are clearly separate and support miniature models of buildings; the rathas of Mamallapuram which are carved from scattered rocks on the beach, showing different models in relation to the size and form of the rocks, demonstrate the application of this technique in a square or elongated plan. But temples of this type were built in the Calukya country simultaneously with sanctuaries with a *sikhara*.

Further on we shall see the final development of these types which is characterised by a tendency to increase the height of the roof. In the south the stories of the square sanctuary roof are multiplied and receive the name *vimana*. In the great, medieval Tamil temples, the monumental porticoes, or *gopurams*, are the most imposing element of the sacred enclosure. In Hindustan and Orisa the *sikharas*, starting at ground level, constitute the temple instead of merely

covering it; this tendency to attain gigantic heights was taken to such lengths in the temple of Konarak (which was to have surpassed all the others) that it was impossible to finish it.

154. TEMPLE 17, SANCHI. Approximate date: beginning of the 5th century (425?). This temple, which has been preserved remarkably well, is one of the very few stone temples built at this period which have survived. Its lay-out is obviously inspired by Greek temples, with its porch supported by columns, its regular basement, its flat roof and rectangular sanctuary. The columns still have the bell-shaped capitals of the Mauryan period but the back-to-back lions of the support of the architrave have decreased in importance. The shaft of the column itself from a simple, square base becomes octagonal as it rises, then sixteen-sided; finally it becomes round at the level of the capital. The stones are joined without mortar, and are rather unskilfully dressed. The door to the cella is narrow. The dimensions of the whole monument are modest, about 23 feet long and 13 feet wide. Was this temple Brahmanical or Buddhist? There are no indications to determine this. From this type derive most of the temples which are known as Indo-Aryan, or *nagara*, for it is its simplest form.

155. TEMPLE 18, SANCHI. This temple, of which only the columns and basement have remained, had a apsidal lay-out. It must, like the *caityas* of the Gupta period, have had a horseshoe-shaped entrance and a rounded, wooden roof. The pillars are bare and little decorated, except for the engraved stupa motif which marks, at two-thirds of its height, a slim octagonal section.

156. TEMPLE OF LAKSMANA, SIRPUR. This temple is interesting on several counts: it already has a high square cella perched on a basement, and its roof is almost the same as that of the older *sikharas.* Unfortunately the whole top of the building was destroyed; what is shown here is a restoration and what in particular is unknown is whether the whole edifice was surmounted by a ribbed cushion *(amalaka).*

On the other hand this type of cella is found in the early art of maritime India, in particular on the Dieng plateau in Java (Chandi Bhima), and this monument, which one would like to be able date with certainty in the 6th century, might be the origin of the Javanese offshoot. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

157. TEMPLE OF TRIVIKRAMA AT TER (9TH CENTURY). We show this little temple as an example of the rectangular type with an elongated roof, rather in the shape of a cradle. This type is found also at Chezarla (temple of Kapotesoara) and at Mamallapuram (the Bhimaratha and the Ganesaratha), at the Vaital Deul at Bhuvanesvara and at the Telika-Mandir at Gwalior. Finally, it is this type which in the Dravidian style, gives birth to the gigantic *gopurams.* The ends of the "cradle" are decorated with *kudus* which are varied in form (trilobal arch, broken arch or even more complex forms) and which sometimes, as here, contain representations of architectural elements. *Photograph: Musée Guimet.*

158. BAS-RELIEF OF THE ENTRANCE OF A GUPTA SANCTUARY. Provenance unknown. 5th-6th century. It represents the goddess of the river Yamuna who is here standing on her emblem, the tortoise. An umbrella is held above her head by a water spirit while a sky spirit flies above the whole, with a garland in its hand. A follower accompanies the deity on the tortoise. Note the hair-style in a sort of cushion, the triple flexion of the body of the goddess *(tribhanga)*, and the detailed work of the umbrella of peacock feathers.

159. BODH-GAYA, TEMPLE OF THE MAHA BODHI. This is a high pyramidal structure of 167 feet, with a square cross-section, 50 feet square at its base. Four lower towers adorn the corners of this temple which was perhaps built on the site of a stupa. The date of its first construction is uncertain but must have been fairly early. A temple was built here under the Gupta dynasty, rebuilt and several times restored. In fact it preserves few elements of its original form. Nevertheless, the present building may be dated between the 4th and 7th centuries. According to the notes left by the Chinese traveller Hiun-ts'and, who made a pilgrimage to it in 637, the temple which then existed, must have looked very similar. The restorations made by pious Burmese took place in 1105 and 1298.

160. BODH-GAYA. Base of a pilaster near the entrance of the temple. This decoration seems more original than the rest although it is possible that this is a copy. The decoration is related to the Gupta style.

161. DETAIL OF A STONE SCREEN, BHUMARA. Floral motifs, red sand-stone. *Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

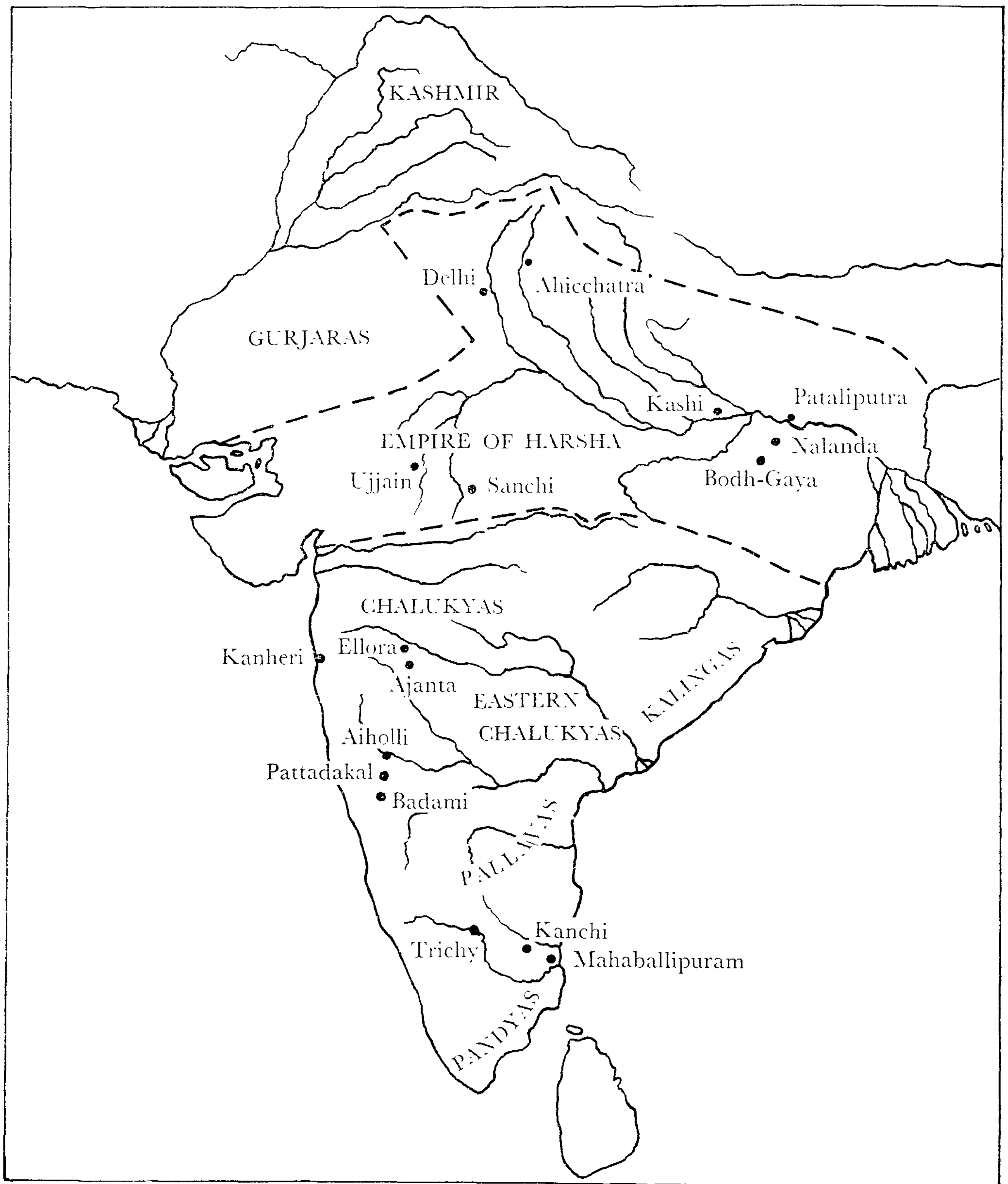


FIG. 21. INDIA IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTURY

IV. Post-Gupta Art in the South

The post-Gupta art of the south includes a number of carved rocks, *rathas*, at Mamallapuram, which are usually dated in the 7th century, as well as the temples which may have derived from these and which we will examine further on: the temple of the Pagoda, also situated at Mamallapuram, the Kailasanatha and Vaikunthaperumal of Kanchipuram. Some authors see in the carved rocks of Mammallapuram the origin of the Dravidian type of temples which are also found among the Calukyas. The temple of Mahakutesvara rivals in age the *rathas*, and the so-called Dravidian temples are also thought to have a Canarese origin. On the other hand it is also often argued that the *rathas* of Mamallapuram, which are older than the Dravidian temples of Pattadakal, formed the prototype of the latter and that the Calukyas, with their close contacts with the Pallavas, had borrowed from them elements of their style. Both suggestions are plausible. It has also been suggested that these *rathas* are copies of older types of temples built in perishable materials. In fact nothing precise is known about the origin of the *rathas*, nor about their raison-d'être and use. Some of them were never even finished, others had only just been begun.

They all have different forms and it is difficult to envisage an architectural plan providing for five buildings situated a few yards from each other, representing five different types, from the copy of a simple, square hut to the prototype of far more complicated Dravidian temples. The carvings with which the *rathas* are decorated are all of the same style.

What purpose did the vast complex of Mamallapuram, comprising, besides the famous *rathas*, caves and carved rocks, serve? It may be supposed that the carved rocks acted as models for many architects when, subsequently, they built constructed temples. If this was the case, the Dharmaraja might have served as an example for the Kailasanatha of Kanchipuram. Actually the Dharmaraja is uncompleted. During the time when these rocks were carved, the Pallava artists and architects were cutting caves practically everywhere in the south of India, alongside the dikes which give the countryside its peculiar aspect, mainly at Trichinopoly, Sittannavasal, Kudumian, etc.

162. GANESA RATHA, MAMALLAPURAM. This *ratha* is the most complete of them all. The pinnacle has been preserved. This temple was consecrated to the god Ganesa whose effigy stands at the end of the *mandapa*, the entrance to which may be seen, supported by two columns.

163. VIEW OF THE RATHAS, MAMALLAPURAM. The *ratha* seen here, beside the large stone elephant is the Sahadeva Ratha. The five main *rathas* are called after the five Pandava brothers and their communal wife, Draupadi, although there has never been any connection between this story of Vedic times and the monuments. The Sahadeva Ratha is dedicated to the twin brothers Sahadeva and Nakula and looks like a replica of a Buddhist temple with its apsidal plan and vaulted roof. According to some authors this form is derived from the stupa itself to which an awning was added to shelter the faithful.

164. BHIMA RATHA, MAMALLAPURAM. Immediately after the Draupadi Ratha, comes the Arjuna Ratha, standing on the same basement. A little further on is the Bhima Ratha. It is rectangular in form. It looks like a long hut, constructed on a platform supported by pillars. The first floor is completed, but some of the pillars of the ground floor, on the other hand, seem to have been abandoned suddenly during construction. All these pillars, which according to some authors, derive from the stupa, have a base in the shape of a seated lion. They are not real shrines, but are already miniature models of buildings.

165. DHARMARAJA RATHA, MAMALLAPURAM. In spite of the hardness of the granite, the sculptor has succeeded with great delicacy in giving an expression and gentleness to this portrait. For we can be almost certain that it is a portrait. The great of this world already liked to be represented in divine form. The Dharmaraja Ratha is the largest of the five. Its square plan consists of a sanctuary with three real stories, bordered by miniature buildings and surmounted by an octagonal dome. This sanctuary is in all details similar to that of the Kailasanatha and other temples of the same type. Perhaps these *rathas* were experimental, made as architects' models for the definitive execution of the temples. This would explain the diversity of the models which had been submitted for royal approbation. Subsequently they could have been transformed into little sanctuaries. The two stories of the *vimana* of the Dharmaraja are decorated with

carvings, like this one, depicting kings, and queens of astonishing beauty.

166. THE DESCENT OF THE GANGES, MAMALLAPURAM. This is a rock face of 30 feet high and 66 feet long, divided into two more or less equal parts by a vertical fault. The whole rock has been carved with human and animal figures in life-size, including elephants. This enormous rock had to serve as a dam to retain the water of an artificial reservoir. The water could flow through the fault and symbolise the Ganges. From both sides animals, flying men, spirits and ascetics hasten towards the sacred stream. The legend of the birth of the Ganges may be seen illustrated here. The animals are treated either very realistically or in a humorous style, as for instance the cat who, with its front paws lifted up, preaches austerity while mice are enjoying themselves at its feet. The quality of the carving of this immense group is excellent and shows once more the mastery of the Pallava at cutting the stone directly.

167. DESCENT OF THE GANGES, MAMALLAPURAM (DETAIL). This plate shows a part of the central fault with a praying *naga*, Brahmans and flying figures.

168. DESCENT OF THE GANGES, MAMALLAPURAM (DETAIL). A Brahman, recognisable by his sacred cord, brings water in a jar he carries on his shoulder.

169. DESCENT OF THE GANGES, MAMALLAPURAM (DETAIL). Two sages, represented as flying figures, hasten towards the Ganges. A lion, not so well observed and treated more conventionally, follows them. The lion still shows pure Achaemenid characteristics.

170. DESCENT OF THE GANGES, MAMALLAPURAM (DETAIL). Two deer, a tortoise and a bear. The details reveal the artist's sense of realism and attentive observation: one deer is scratching its muzzle, while the tortoise stretches its neck to climb the slope.

171. RECUMBENT BULL, MAMALLAPURAM. This is the bull of the Krisna Mandapa, which is famous for its animal carvings. The natural expression of the bull is rendered in a masterly fashion by the artist's chisel. The pose is right, the volumes perfectly observed. It is cut life-size in the rock.

172. RECUMBENT VISNU, MAMALLAPURAM. This bas-relief is situated on the left wall of the Mahisasura Mandapa. Opposite is another bas-relief, depicting Durga's fight with the demon Mahisa. In the first, we see Visnu lying on the coils of Ananta whose five heads form an umbrella, and dreaming the Creation of the Universe. Flying figures, worshippers and guardians watch over his sleep. The carving of this bas-relief is of exceptional power.

173. SHORE TEMPLE, MAMALLAPURAM. This temple lacks homogeneity in its lay-out; it was built about a century after that of Mahakutesvara and is its direct successor. It is very likely that the Calukyas influenced this type of temple, which is usually classified as purely Dravidian. Actually we find the same characteristics in it as in the Calukya temples. The square cella is surmounted by a square tower which also consists of several superimposed stories on which miniature models of buildings may be noted. The dome is here slightly different and ends in a finial. This top may derive from the *amalaka* of the Calukya *sikharas* or have been inspired by them. The little sanctuary attached behind the main cella (logically, it should have been in front of it) seems to have been added as an afterthought. This temple, which is dedicated to Siva and surrounded by Nandins forming a sort of wall, also contains a colossal statue of Visnu lying down. The temples of this type are often classified under the generic name of Pallava after the dynasty under which they were built. This sanctuary lies on the edge of the sea. Its carvings have suffered badly from marine erosion. An apparently unfounded legend assures us that six more temples of the same type have been swallowed by the sea. What is certain is that the coastline has come farther inland, for at low tide many structures and carved rocks can be seen under water. But there is no evidence to support the legend. The date of construction of this temple may be placed approximately at 700.

174. TEMPLE OF VAIKUNTHA PERUMAL, KANCHI, view of the covered gallery. This temple was built shortly after the Kailasanatha, but has a completely different lay-out; it could have been a sort of prototype from which other temples were derived, if the dates agreed. It is possible that the architect reverted to the point of departure of the Dravidian temple and tried to modify the style following a new technique. This temple consists of three superimposed sanctuaries situated in the different stories of the building. These stories are all of the same size, but there are miniature buildings which surround them. It is not impossible that this type of monument could have developed from buildings of perishable materials which united sanctuary and *vihara* and had several stories. But the exterior looks very much the same as the other Pallava temples. The *vimana* is surrounded by a covered gallery with supporting pillars, magnificently carved in the shape of seated lions. All around the gallery are bas-reliefs which, according to Professor Jouveau-Dubreuil, record historical events. It is a Vaisnavite temple.

175. VAIKUNTHA PERUMAL, KANCHI, bas-relief of the gallery, depicting a battle scene in which soldiers mounted on horses and elephants are taking part.

176. KAILASANTHA TEMPLE, KANCHI, exterior sanctuaries. This temple was constructed by Rajasimha Pallava in the beginning of the 7th century; its lay-out is appreciably similar to that of the Shore Temple, but more regular. It is surrounded by walls against the inside of which abut a great number of square sanctuaries, containing bas-reliefs and frescoes. The lion pillars of these little cellas are characteristic of the style of the south of India. Each of these buildings looks like a miniature model of the temple of Mahakutesvara. They are, on a larger scale, exact replicas of the miniature imitations of buildings which decorate the edges of this temple. Each of them contains in fact a simple cella, usually square, mounted on a high base, an upper storey on which are arranged miniature models of buildings, and an octagonal dome, surmounted by a little *amalaka*. In front of the temple of Kailasanatha eight similar sanctuaries are arranged, side by side, two on one side, six on the other. They all contain a polished stone *linga*, for the temple was consecrated to Siva. These sanctuaries were built by people of the kingdom as we can learn from the inscriptions which have been found. The base of the temple itself is of granite, the superstructure of sand-stone. The tower, or *vimana*, which surmounts the sanctuary rises to a height of 56 feet. To this seven little sanctuaries have been added, which communicated with it. The inscription is in Grantha script, typical of the period and of the region.

177. KAILASANATHA, KANCHI (DETAIL). This carving is in the niche of one of the subsidiary sanctuaries, and represents Siva with six arms, riding in a chariot drawn by two rearing horses. This motif is fairly rare in India and seems to appear only during the Mathura period. There is one other example, but with four horses, on a pillar at Bodh-Gaya.

178. DVARAPALA, KUDUMIAN. This carving, over 6 feet high, ornaments the entrance of a Pallava-style cave which serves as the sanctuary of a temple that was later built against its entrance, at the bottom of a large cliff. The pillars of this cave are related in some ways to Calukya-style pillars but nevertheless have typically Dravidian brackets and are covered with inscriptions. Two similar carvings, magnificently preserved, face each other. The attitude is noble, imposing and full of confident relaxation. A cobra, unusually, is coiled around this guardian's club.

179. FRESCO, SITANNAVASAL. The cave is attributed to the Pallava king Mahendravarman I (640-670) who is reputed to have professed the Jaina religion before his conversion to Brahmanism. The carvings decorating this cave are Jaina. The lay-out of the cave itself is the same as that of Pallava chapels (*mandapas*). The ceilings and pillars of this cave are decorated with many paintings. The painting we show here is found on the outside face of the entablature of one of the exterior columns, and represents a *hamsa*, or mythical swan, treated magnificently. Other superb paintings depict in a natural manner secular activities and dancing girls (see fig. 22). These paintings reveal a technique and artistry which are at least equal to those of Ajanta. Unfortunately they are very badly damaged. The colours which were used had a mineral base.



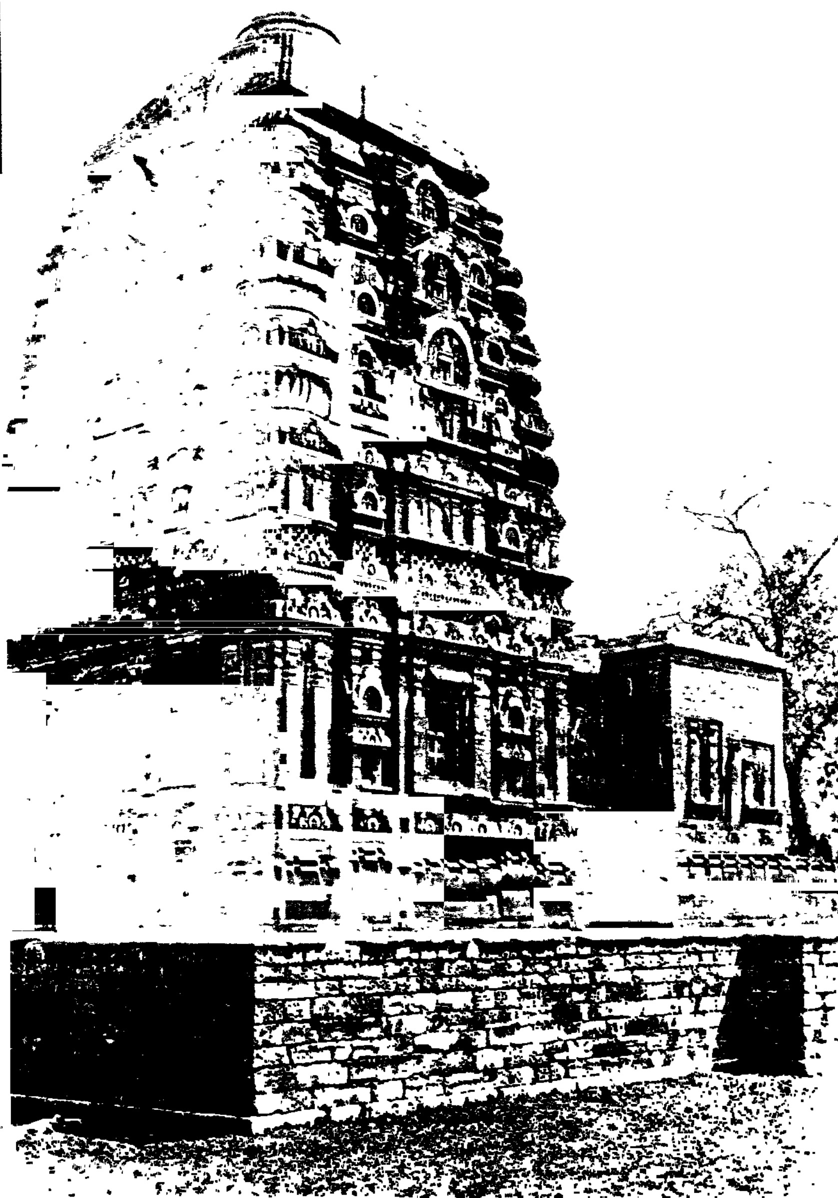
FIG. 22. FRESCO DECORATING THE WALLS OF THE JAINA MANDAPA OF SITANNAVASAL, REPRESENTING A DANCING GIRL



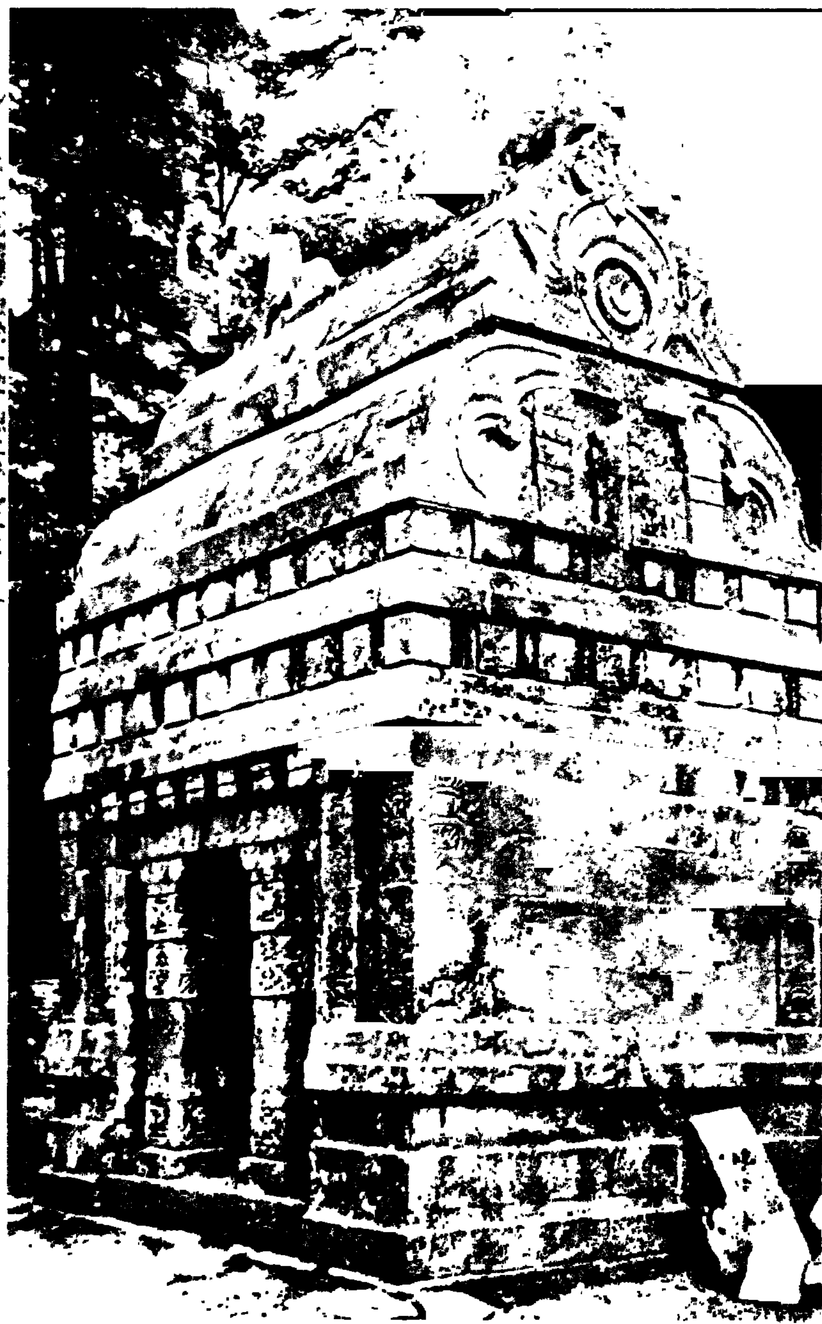
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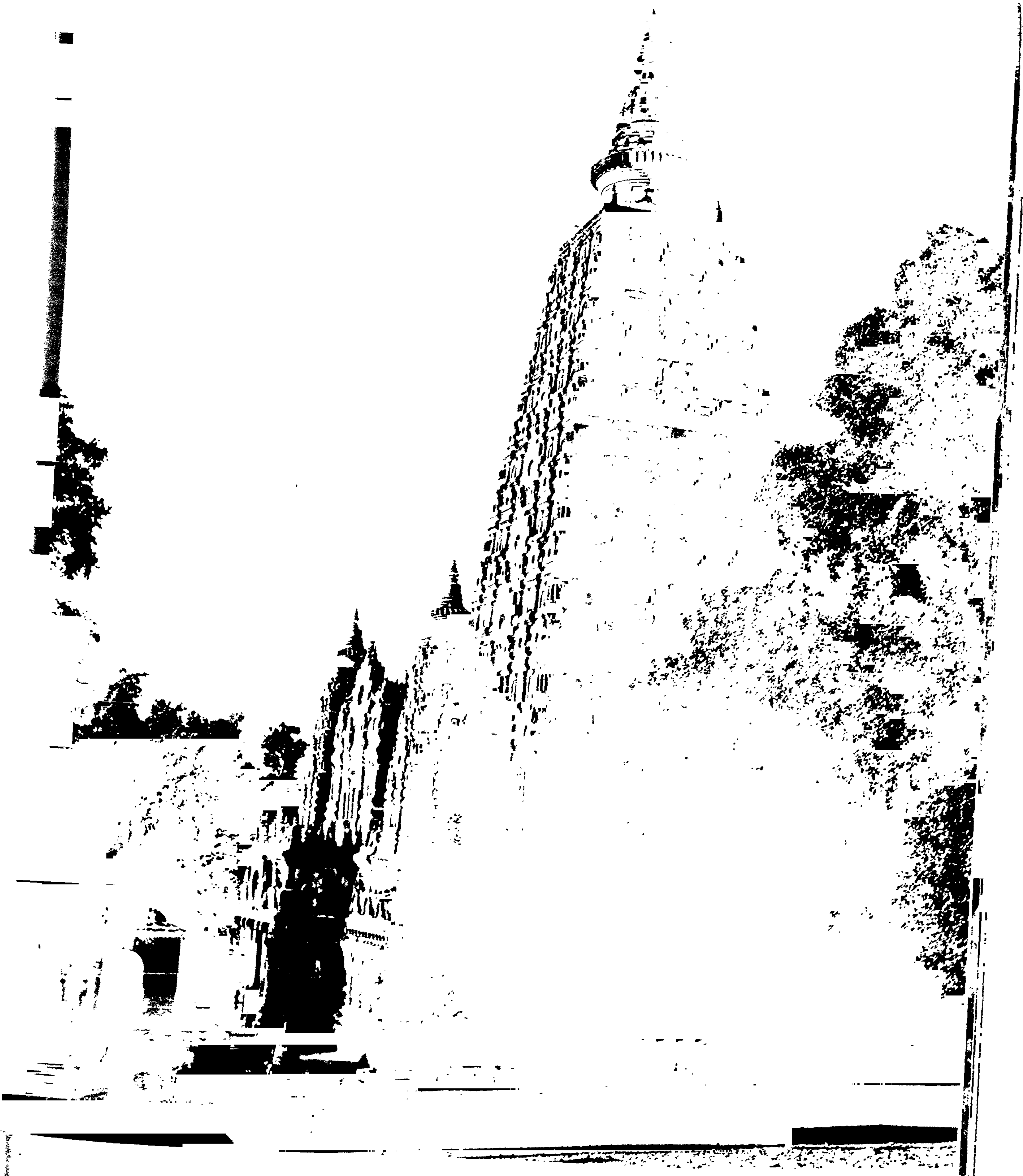


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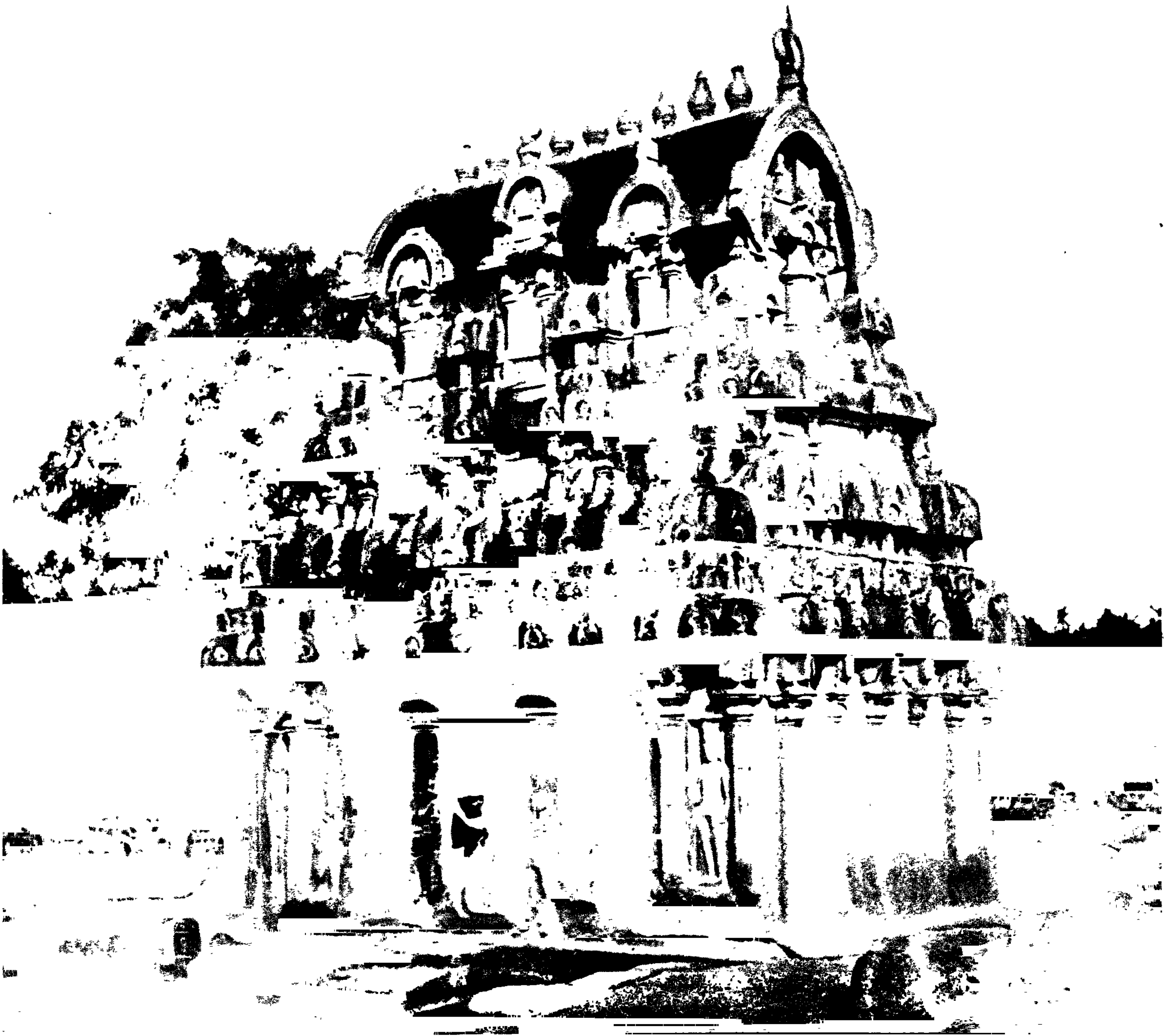
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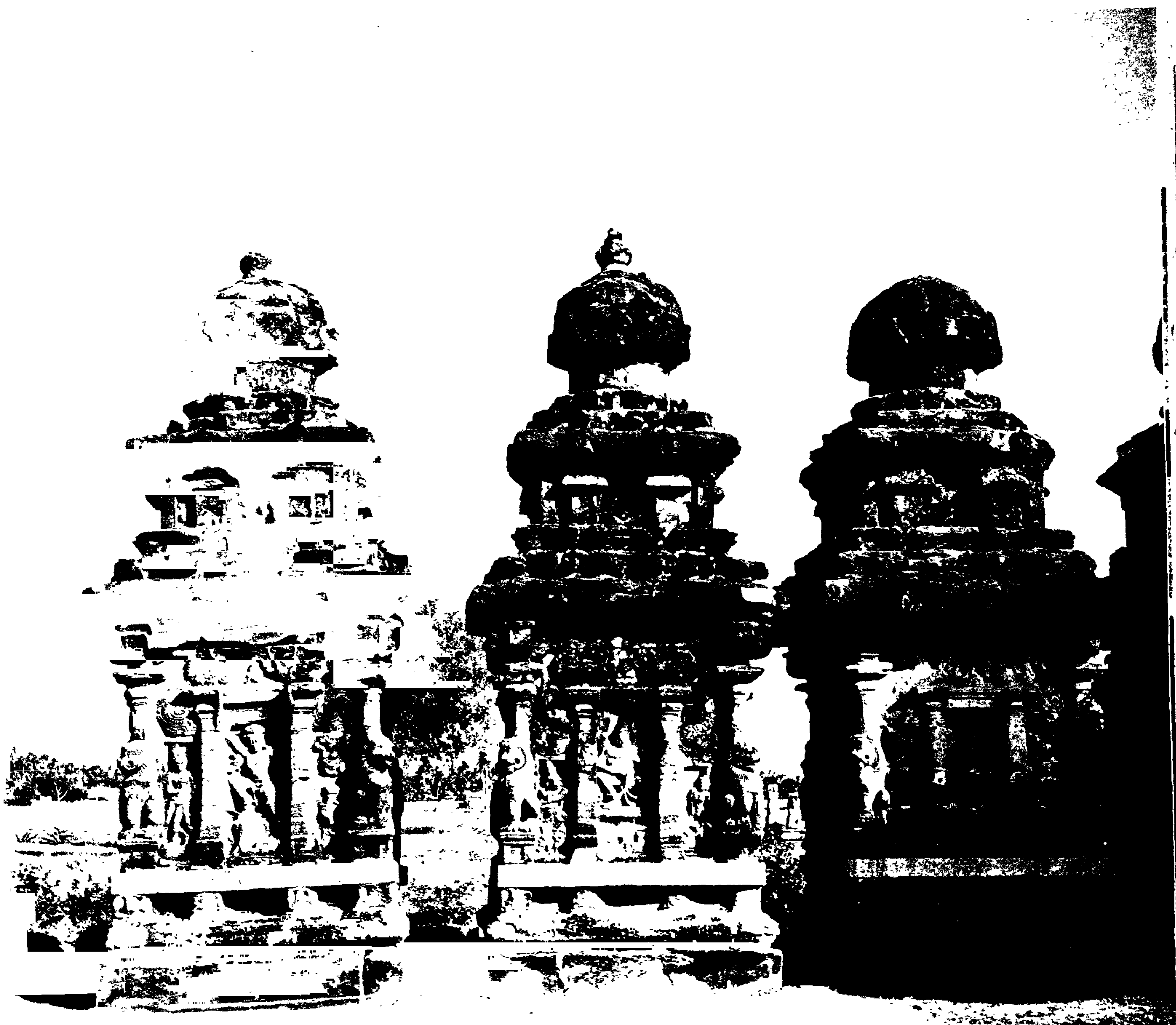


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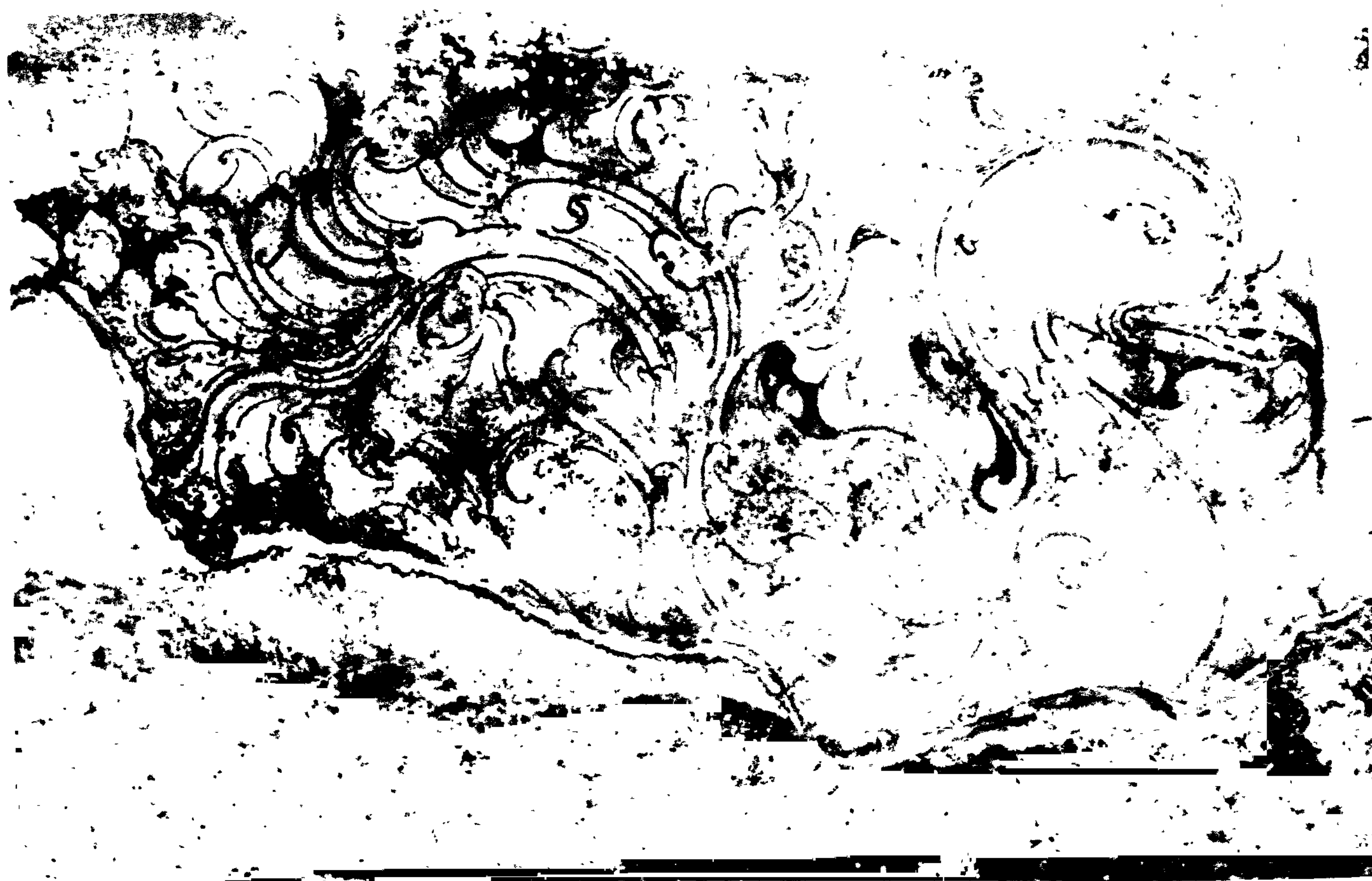


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V. The Art of the Calukyan Capitals

The Calukyan empire embraced the area of the southern Ghats. Ellora and Elephanta, where the transformation of taste and the sensitivity which marks the beginning of the Middle Ages stand out clearly, were situated in this area. The heart of the kingdom, with its political and religious capitals of Badami, Pattadakal and Aihole, was also an artistic centre of the very first importance and the evolution of architecture in the open air can best be studied there.

For not only is the number of foundations in these places large, but also the artists give proof of a remarkable capacity for innovation: the decoration varies from one monument to another with a regularity which permits the establishment of a relative chronology. The exact dating is then fixed by the foundation inscriptions. Temples with successive stories stand next to temples ornamented with miniature models of buildings and temples with curved roofs. Some of the older temples look back to Gupta architecture and it is possible to see in a continuous sequence how the two types of mediaeval temples are gradually constituted: the Dravidian type and the *nagara* (Indo-Aryan) type—a misnomer, for it was in the Canarese country that it originated.

180. LITTLE TEMPLE, AIHOLE, 5th century. This little temple was constructed under the Calukya dynasty and represents the architectural stage which followed immediately upon that of temple 17 at Sanchi. The sanctuary is more elongated, the porch, or *mandapa*, has proportionately increased in size. The entrance still has four pillars, while other pillars have been added between the entrance and the naos to support the roof. The entablature ends in an overhanging roof. The roof itself is made more complex by central corbelling because the walls were too far apart to be able to support the bays which now rest on interior pillars. This temple forms a connection between temple 17 at Sanchi and the Lad Khan (Plate 181).

181. TEMPLE OF LAD KHAN, AIHOLE. This temple, the oldest one built in the heart of the Calukya country, is also one of the most characteristic ones of the Gupta period. The cella is inside and at the end of the *mandapa*, which is covered, enclosed by walls and lit by windows. The open porch still exists and is covered by the first roof. The pillars are beginning to be decorated with carvings. The roof is now supported by a large number of pillars on account of the increased dimensions of the mandapa. The little tower which can be seen on the top, was added later, when this temple, which was perhaps originally Buddhist, was made Brahmanic.

182. LAD KHAN, AIHOLE, detail of the roof. The stone shingles in the shape of half tree-trunks are clearly visible as well as the corbelling of the stone battens which form the roof. All the parts of the temple are treated as if they were made of wood. Characteristically, the roof is made of stone battens joined together but not cemented, the joints being covered by shingles in the form of half tree-trunks. The pillars consist of a shaft and two entablature supports which serve no purpose here but are indispensable in wood architecture. This peculiarity has also been found among the columns of cave *caityas* and *viharas*. The roof is composed of several parts, of which the central one rests on the side parts. The corbelled roof consists of a few stone slabs. The whole structure is heavy and massive, requiring very robust pillars inside.

183. LAD KHAN, AIHOLE, detail of a window. Geometrically designed carving of lotus rosettes and flowers arranged to form squares.

184. LAD KHAN, AIHOLE, detail of an inside pillar. There is only one decorated pillar inside. It is not known whether this pillar was carved after the completion of this temple or contemporaneously. Although a little crude, this carving has elements of the Gupta style. It probably represents a princely couple, judging from the worked tiaras they are wearing.

185. DURGA TEMPLE. AIHOLE. This temple is based on the model of a Buddhist *caitya*. It was undoubtedly constructed towards the second half of the 6th century and is unique of its kind. It stands on a high platform and is, characteristically, apsidal in form. The roof has four corbelled stages. As in the Lad Khan, the porch is not as wide as the temple itself. It is supported by four pilasters of which the two central ones have carved braces. The square pillars are decorated only at the base and have simple capitals which project on each side far beyond the shaft.

186. DURGA TEMPLE, AIHOLE. Outside gallery. The plain pillars support a stepped entablature on which the beams rest that support the slabs of the ceiling. The temple walls are decorated with pilasters and have screened windows of perforated stone which are decorated with *kudu* friezes and pilasters forming niches. An outer wall of superimposed stone blocks rises between the outside pillars.

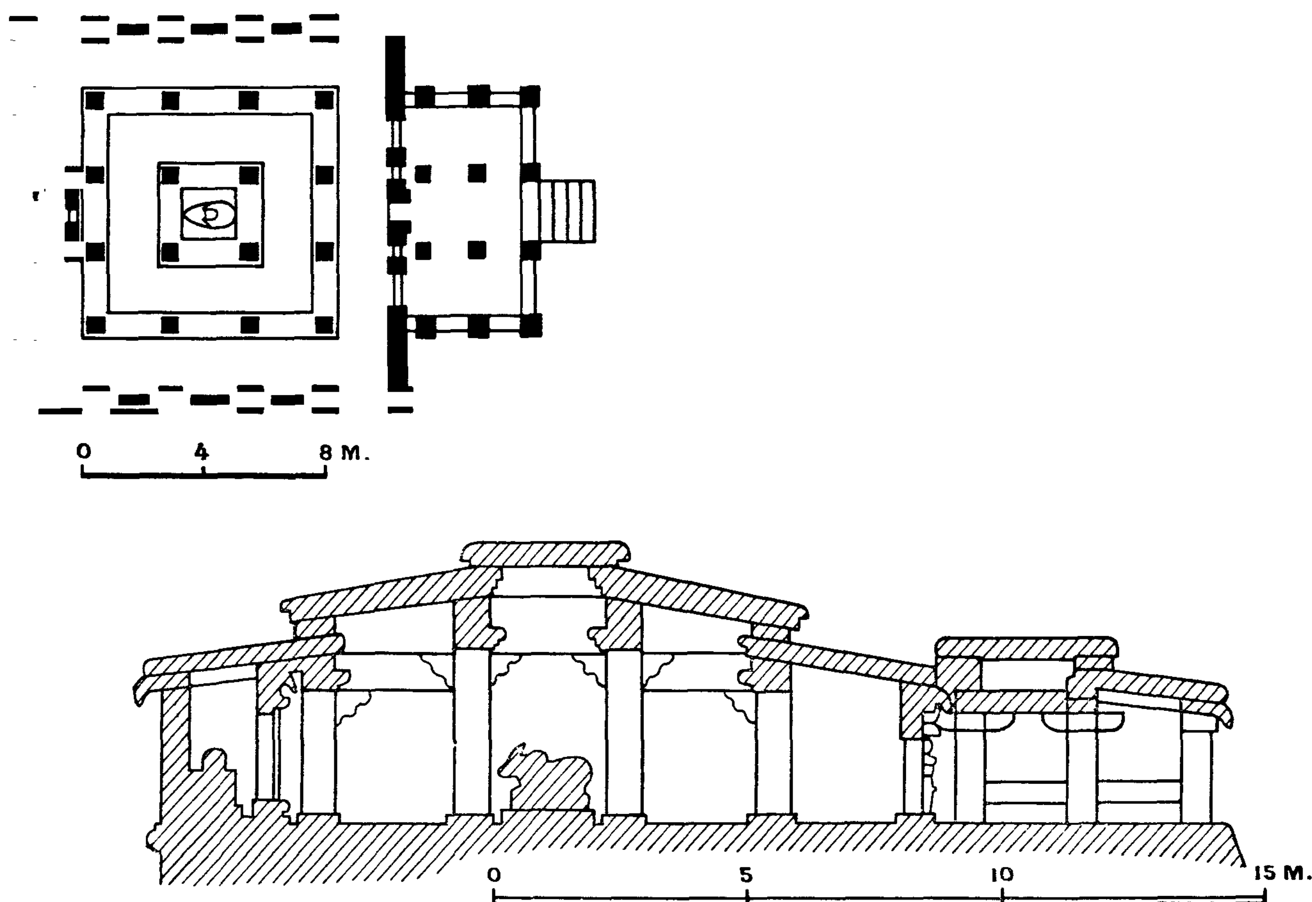


FIG. 23. PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF LAD KHAN AT AIHOLE. IN THE CENTRE OF THE HALL (MANDAPA) A STATUE OF NANDIN FACES THE LINGA OF THE SANCTUARY

187. DURGA TEMPLE, AIHOLE, detail of the ceiling. This bas-relief depicts a *naga* king sheltered by a seven-headed serpent. In his right hand he holds a garland, in his left a lotus flower. On his right a *naga* couple brings offerings. This type of ceiling is later often repeated with variations in execution and style.

188. MEGUTI, AIHOLE. This is the last temple which, at first sight, might be assigned to the Gupta period. It was probably built for a Jaina sect and in fact should be dated to the year 634. The art of building has progressed, the stones are smaller and the decorations more delicate. The lay-out is still the same as before. The roof is formed of stone slabs in juxtaposition, supported by interior pillars and walls. The tower, or roof sanctuary, seems to imitate that of the Lad Khan. This temple was never completed.

189. VISNU ON ANANTA, AIHOLE. 6th century. Visnu is depicted here resting on the Eternal Ocean, the seven-headed serpent Ananta. His attributes lie by his side: the sword, mace, solar disk *(cakra)* and conch. Attendants and a worshipper with folded hands are seated at his feet. On the right and left of this panel some splendid floral decorations. *Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*

190. MAHAKUTESVARA TEMPLE, NEAR BADAMI. This temple was in all probability built about 600. It has, on top of a square cella, a tower which seems to foreshadow the later Dravidian achievements, and an octagonal dome, flanked by miniature models of buildings on each story. The outer wall of this temple, which is dedicated to Siva, is decorated with numerous representations of this god. The sanctuary and *mandapa* are lit by screened windows of perforated stone.

191. THE DEMON VATAPI, MAHAKUTESVARA, NEAR BADAMI. This statue represents one of the two demons, enemies of man and gods, who were defeated by Siva. The style is still stiff, almost archaic. The statues of the demons used to guard the entrance of the sanctuary. To the left is a stone screen, carved in a swastika, delicately decorated with floral motifs.

192. STATUE OF SIVA, MAHAKUTESVARA, NEAR BADAMI. Probably added several years later, this statue portrays Siva in his bi-sexual form, Ardhanari. The right side is that of a man, the left of a woman. The artist has treated this combination in a elegant manner and has successfully preserved the *tribhanga* attitude. The style is supple and

realistic and has already something of the characteristic vivacity of the high Calykuan style.

193. TEMPLE OF SANGAMESVARA, PATTADAKAL. This temple, built by the Calukyan king Vijayaditya, in the year 725 (?) reveals a close relationship with the temple of Mahakutesvara (Plate 190) from which it directly developed. The dome is rectangular, the decoration more delicate and strongly influenced by the Pallava style.

194. PATTADAKAL. Small temple of simple type with a *mandapa*, preceded by a porch.

195. TEMPLE OF VIRUPAKSA, PATTADAKAL. At Pattadakal, in the heart of the Calukya kingdom, two temples were constructed which show Dravidian and Indo-Aryan characteristics at the same time. These temples are the Virupaksa and the Mallikarjuna (Plate 199), and among their characteristics are a Dravidian tower, a wide *mandapa*, secondary *mandapas* with several entrances and a rectangular enclosure which no longer consists of a continuous covered gallery, but of a series of small sanctuaries abutting on the wall. This temple, the Virupaksa, was erected towards the middle of the 8th century (740) by Vikramaditya II to commemorate his third victory over the Pallavas and the capture of Kanchi by his troops. Architects brought back from the south contributed to the construction of the temples and brought with them a more advanced technique. The Virupaksa includes, in addition to the main sanctuary, a freestanding *mandapa* which houses, as at the Kailasanatha at Kanchi, a statue of Nandin, Siva's bull. The temple and its subsidiary buildings lie in the middle of a large court, surrounded by walls. One enters by a massive gate which recalls once again that of the Pallava temples. Magnificent sculptures decorate the walls and niches of the sanctuaries. The pillars, mouldings, cornices and miniature buildings bear witness to a perfection of craftmanship which serves a rigourously predetermined plan. The temple is more than 130 feet long. The *antarala*, now highly developed, has twenty pillars, while the separate *mandapa* has no more than four. The separately constructed cella includes a circumam-

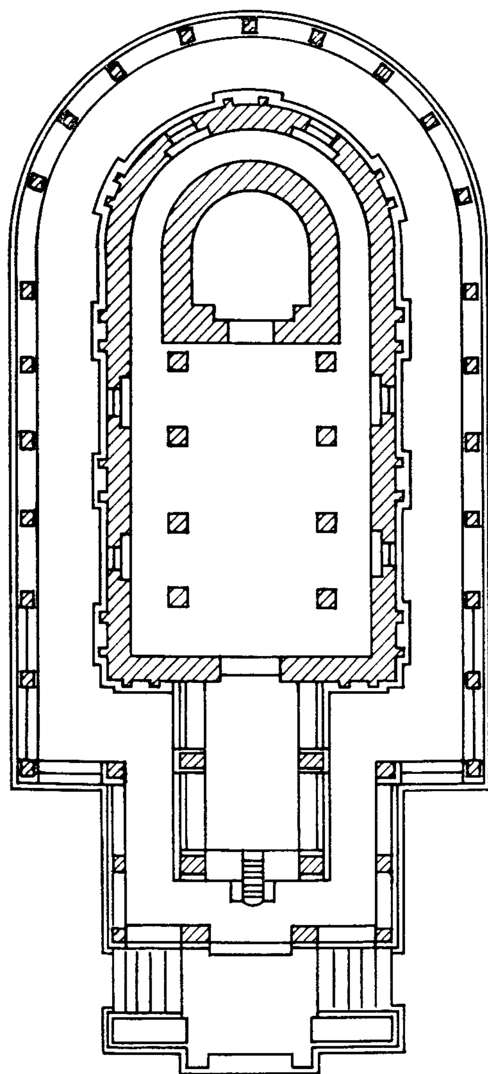


FIG. 24. PLAN OF THE LAD KHAN AT AIHOLE

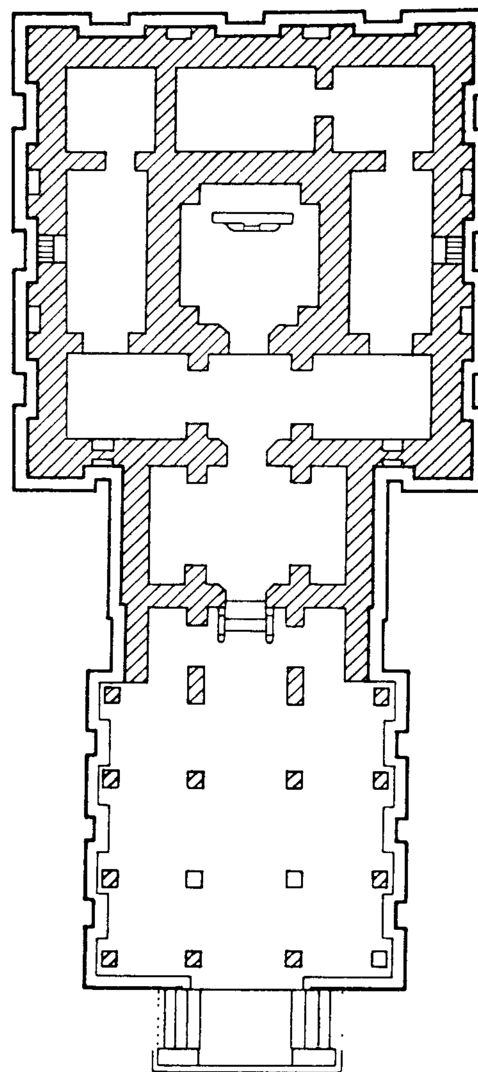


FIG. 25. PLAN OF THE MEGUTI TEMPLE AT AIHOLE

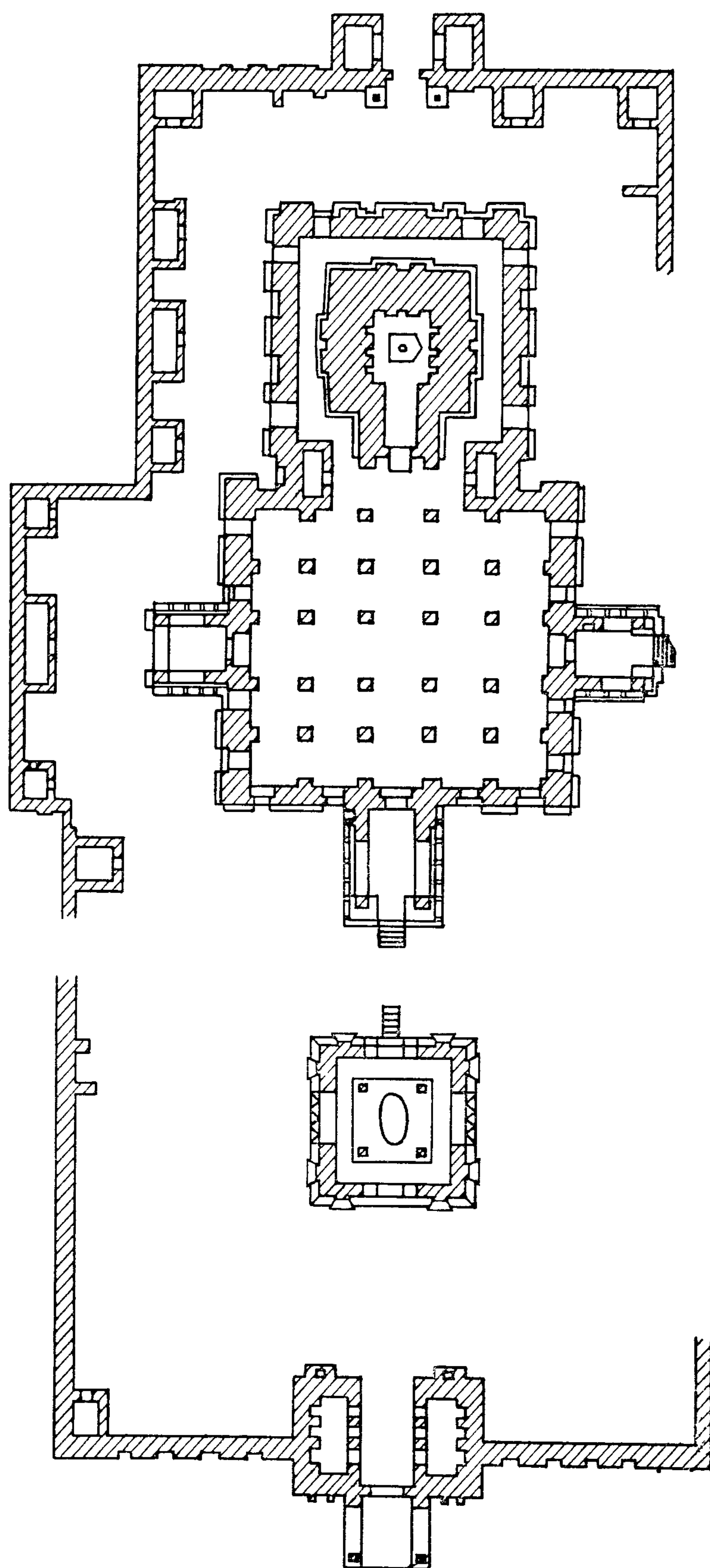


FIG. 26. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF VIRUGAKSA, PATTADAKAL. THE ENCLOSING WALL ON THE RIGHT WAS DEMOLISHED

bulatory. Finally, three entrances lead to the anti-chamber of the sanctuary.

196. VIRUPAKSA, PATTADAKAL. Nandin shrine. This is a massive, square structure situated between the sanctuary and the main gateway. Entrance is by way of a staircase on the side nearest the temple. The pavilions which decorate the walls have porch roofs. Friezes decorate the very low massive dome which surmounts the roof.

197. VIRUPAKSA, PATTADAKAL. Frieze of an interior pillar. The pillars of the temple are decorated with friezes telling stories from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. These bas-reliefs are often surmounted by a semi-circle decorated with representations of animals. In the upper frieze, which illustrates Arjuna's triumph with the bow, a small dog accompanies the right-hand hunter. In the lower frieze we see, in profile this time, a warrior mounted on a war-chariot drawn by two rearing horses. On one of them the charioteer is seated like a postillion.

198. SIVA, VIRUPAKSA, PATTADAKAL. This most elegant piece is more obviously Pallava than Calukya in its conception, but from now on, the two styles are so intermingled that it is difficult to separate them. Siva leans on the head and the hump of Nandin, while his other hand rests gracefully on his hip. His third hand wields the little drum whose celestial sound sets the rhythm of creation, and his fourth holds the banner of victory. The plinth bears a floral decoration which derives from the Gupta style. On this occasion the statue was not carved after the completion of the temple but was carried out at the same time on a separate block which was subsequently installed during the process of construction. This technique shows a distinct advance over that of more typically Calukyan temples of the same period, such as the Papanatha (Plate 204).

199. TEMPLE OF MALLIKARJUNA, PATTADAKAL. This temple, built at the same time as the Virupaksa, by Trailohya Mahadevi, the youngest of the queens of Vikramaditya II, has to all intents and purposes the same appearance as the Virupaksa, but with a round dome. Its lay-out is a little more simple than that of the latter, but it is of the same standard. The stone screens are finely chiselled and floral motifs abound; the carvings are finer and more supple. The encircling wall is in no way comparable with that of the Virupaksa.

200. MALLIKARJUNA, PATTADAKAL. Ceiling. Siva is shown, dancing the Tandava, the cosmic dance, on the dwarf Mulayaka. His wife, Parvati, watches him dance while Nandin and various deities, *nagas* and dwarfs form a guard of honour. The movement is intense and supple; that of Parvati is full of feminine grace. The admirable composition adds to the dynamism of the group and assures its balance.

201. MALLIKARJUNA, PATTADAKAL. This heavenly couple, symbolising the mystical union of the body and the soul, seem here to represent a royal pair. Few groups in the world present this elegance of form and suppleness of gesture. The extremely stylised execution of the woman's body gives her a great deal of charm. Her whole body seems on the point of surrender, but by an excess of coquetry she turns from her husband who looks at her from the side, a shade ironically, holding in his hand the cup from which he invited her to drink. Note the detail of the hair, and of the dagger which the man wears on his hip.

202. PILLAR FRIEZE, MALLIKARJUNA, PATTADAKAL. This bas-relief presents scenes of daily life. In the upper band there are conversing couples, in the lower, ascetics engaged in their excercises. Mischievous dwarfs provide a supporting frieze which contrasts with the simple treatment of the narrative scenes. A smooth stone semi-circle crowns the bas-relief.

203. TEMPLE OF HUCCIMALLIGUDI, AIHOLE. This temple, raised on a high base, has little decoration, with the exception of the flower-vase frieze decorating the railing of the *arsana*, or porch fitted with seats. There is an interior gallery and the sanctuary is a kind of vestibule *(pronaos)* which separates the cella from the *mandapa* (6th century). The *sikhara* is the most simple known example in temples of this kind.

204. TEMPLE OF PAPANATHA, PATTADAKAL. AD 680. This temple marks a distinct advance on the temples in the Gupta style, built at Aihole. It shows a search for a new style, different from the earlier examples, and better adapted to the requirements of Brahmanical rites. It is a long low structure about 100 feet in length, distinguished by a *mandapa* which is larger in proportion to the cella and the vestibule. The *garba-griha* is surmounted by a pyramid with a curvilinear outline, called a *sikhara*.

It is probable that the builders of the Papanatha were also responsible for the *sikhara* of the Durga and Huccimalligudi temples at Aihole. The cella has three projecting false porches, decorated with heavy, massive pilasters. The interior pillars, sketchily executed, are decorated with carvings in high relief and the brackets or entablature supports are highly ornamented. There are only four pillars in the vestibule and sixteen in the *mandapa;* the doorway has only two and is reduced to its simplest form. The outer walls are decorated with regularly spaced niches which contain sculptures of figures. This temple, at first consecrated to Surya, god of

the sun, was subsequently reconsecrated to Siva. The interior pillars bear scenes from the Ramayana.

205. DETAIL OF SCULPTURE ON THE INTERIOR WALL, PAPANATHA, PATTADAKAL. This charming group, which bears witness to the high quality and skill of the sculptors of this period, probably represents a king and a queen. It is perhaps a portrait of Vikramaditya and his wife, or that of their younger successor, Vinayaditya. There is no inscription to make this clear. The plinth bears only two *kudus*.

206. DETAIL OF THE EXTERIOR OF THE WALL, PAPANATHA, PATTADAKAL. Two niches, decorating the south wall of the temple, are shown here. These projecting niches are framed by frequently dissimilar columns. The architect appears to be seeking a style. In the same way the decorations which crown these niches show variations in the use of the "honey-comb" *kudu*. In the upper frieze the *kudus* alternate with semi-circular lotus motifs; in the lower they show various types of stylization. The screens are more divided up than in the earlier temples, but their execution is still lacking in skill. The temple as a whole thus seems to consist of heterogeneous elements as though the architect called in, to realise his ambition, all the architectural and decorative knowledge of his period and wished by combining them to achieve a synthesis from which a new style could be created.

207. INTERIOR PILLARS, PAPANATHA, PATTADAKAL. These are heavy and as if carved in the rock. They still closely resemble those of the caves with the exaggerated development of their brackets and their decoration. There is one novelty, the graceful figure which now leans against the shaft on one side, showing that, if the Calukyan architects were somewhat lacking in inspiration from the point of view of construction, they had already a long experience of sculpture.

208. TEMPLE OF GALAGANATHA, PATTADAKAL. This temple, a little later than the preceding one, has a fully developed *sikhara*. The *kudu* has disappeared from the façade; the *amalaka* already shows the form which it was later to keep. Unfortunately the *mandapa* of this little temple has collapsed and only the stone Nandin, in a mutilated condition, remains as proof that this sanctuary was dedicated to Siva. On the *sikhara* a multitude of *kudus* of various sorts can be seen which combine with the general decoration.

209. TEMPLE OF KASINATHA, PATTADAKAL. This temple, much smaller than the Papanatha, shows, however, a distinct advance on the latter. The *sikhara* is more elaborate and the projecting *kudu* on its façade marks the highest point of the evolution of this feature. In its centre, the dancing figures of Siva and Parvati make this more than a simple

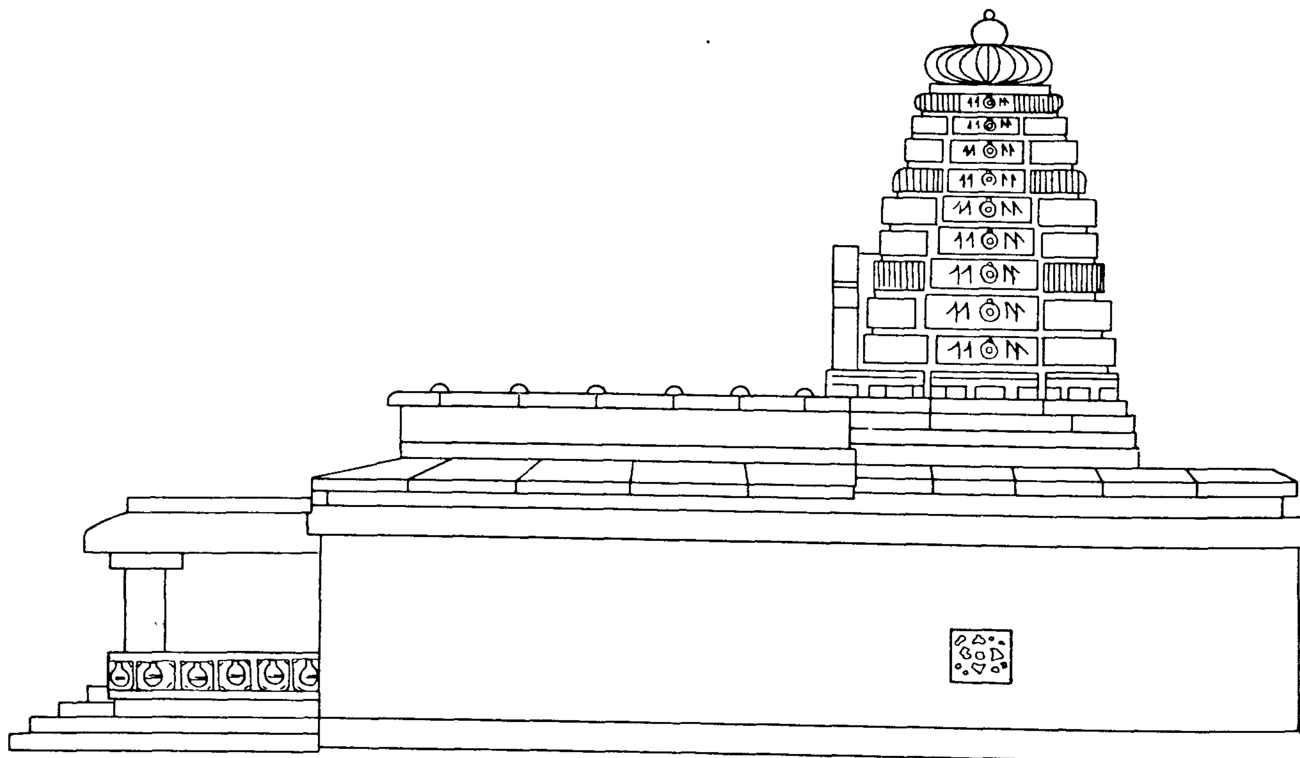


FIG. 27. SCHEMATIC VIEW OF THE RIGHT ELEVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF HUCCIMALLIGUDI, AIHOLE

ornament. The *sikhara*, which is as wide as the cella, and the reduced size of the vestibule foreshadow styles to come. The same niches recur on the walls, but the decoration is less haphazard. It shows a certain organisation. The temple must have had a larger porch. The entrance of the sanctuary is delicately decorated and the whole is free from unnecessary ornamentation. The Indo-Aryan style with the *sikhara* has here come into its own. The *amalaka* of the *sikhara* is lacking.



FIG. 28. POST-GUPTA FRESCO AJANTA: A PRINCESS

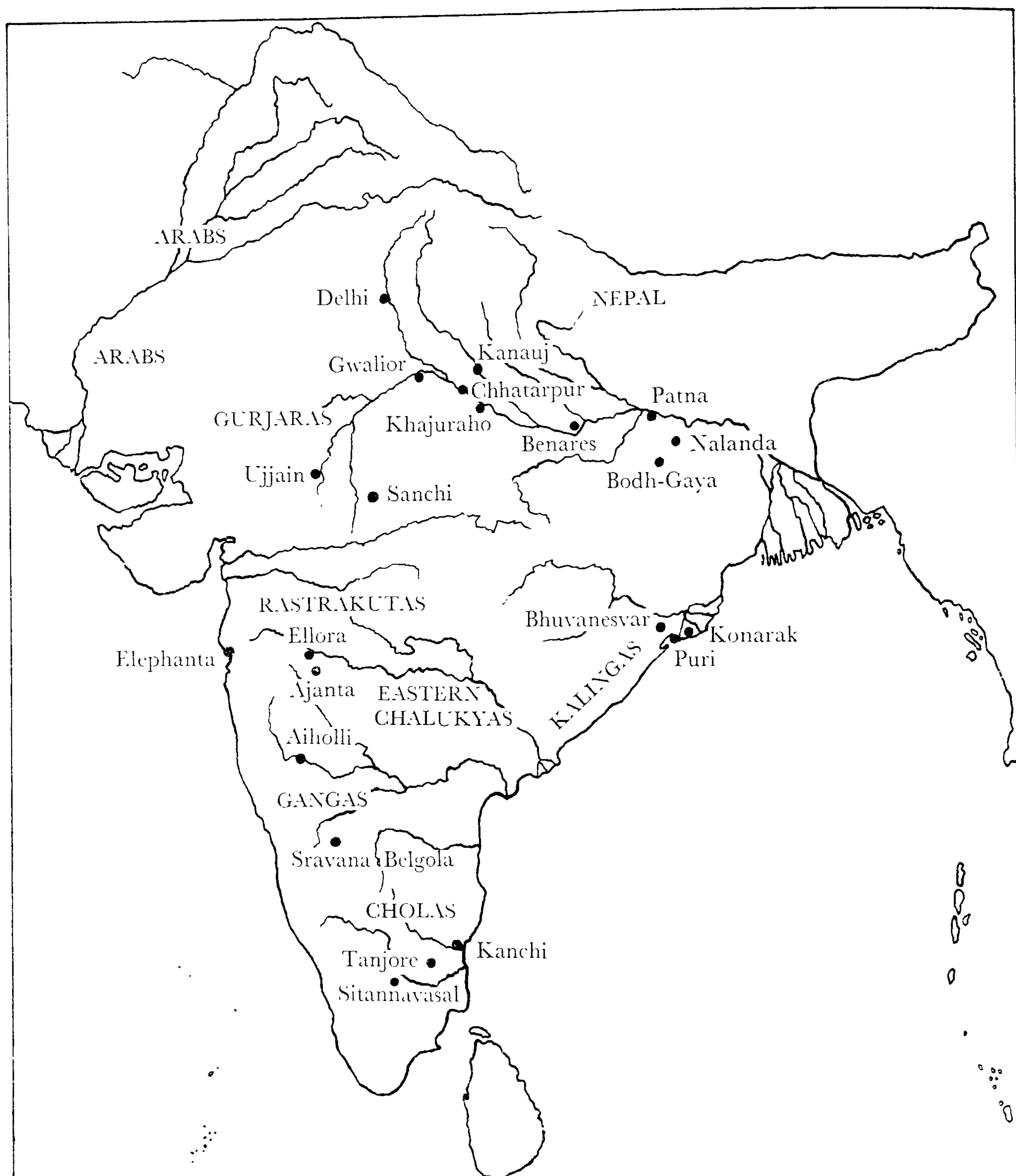
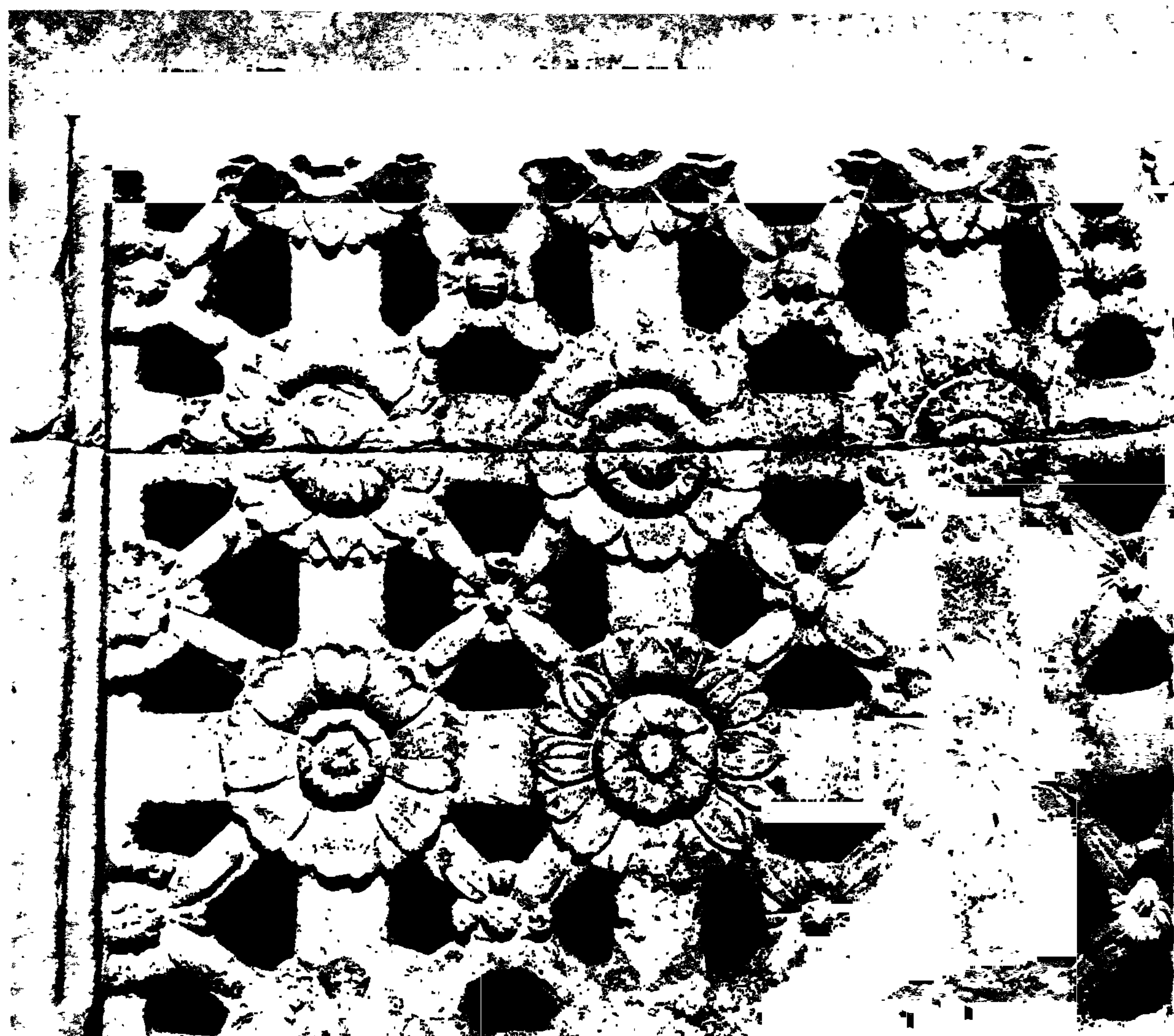


FIG. 29. INDIA, ABOUT AD 1000

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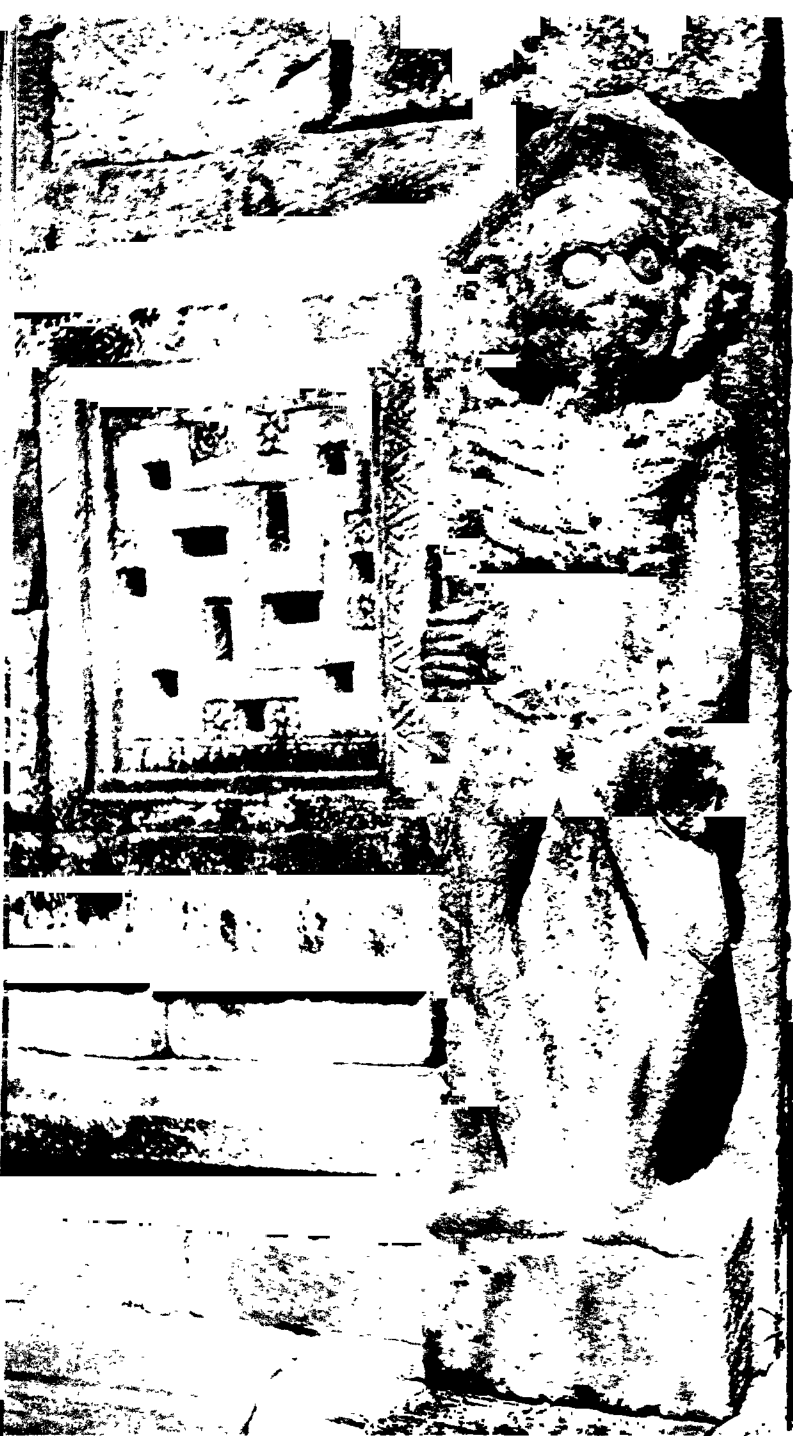
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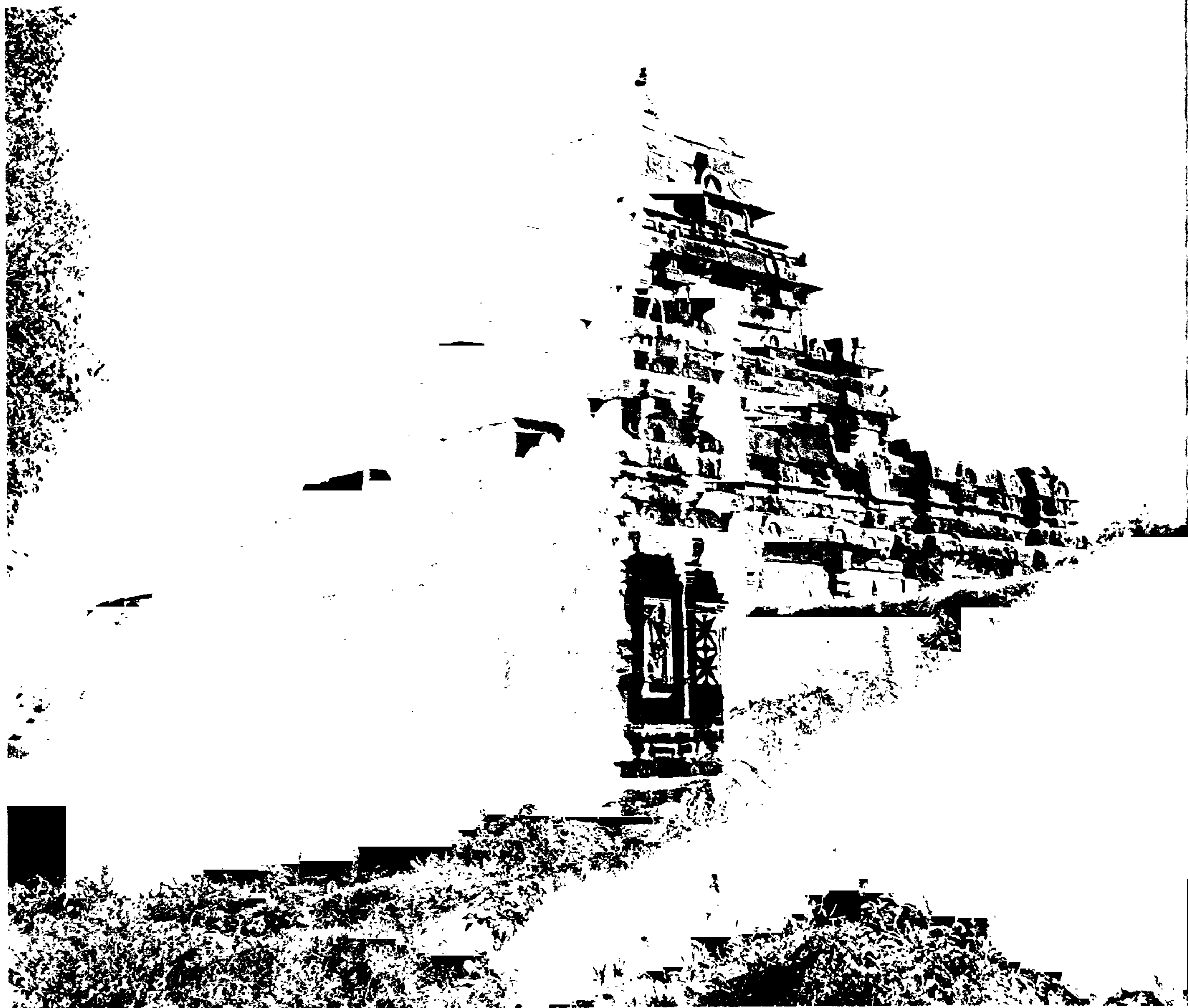


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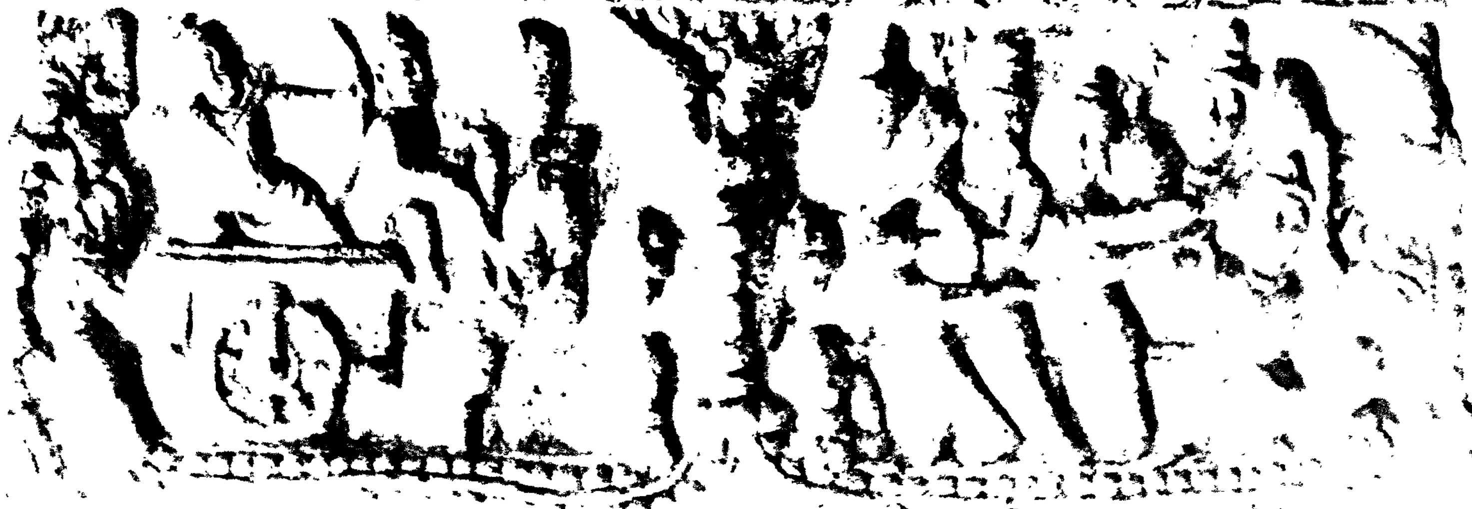
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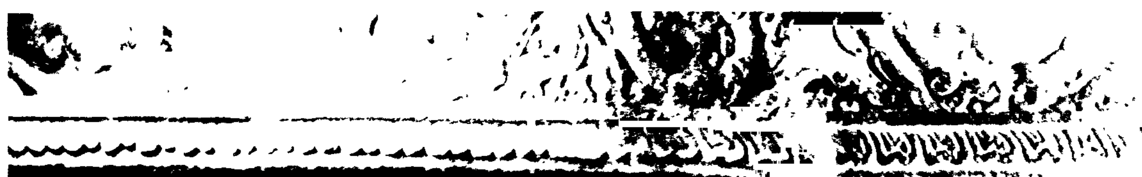




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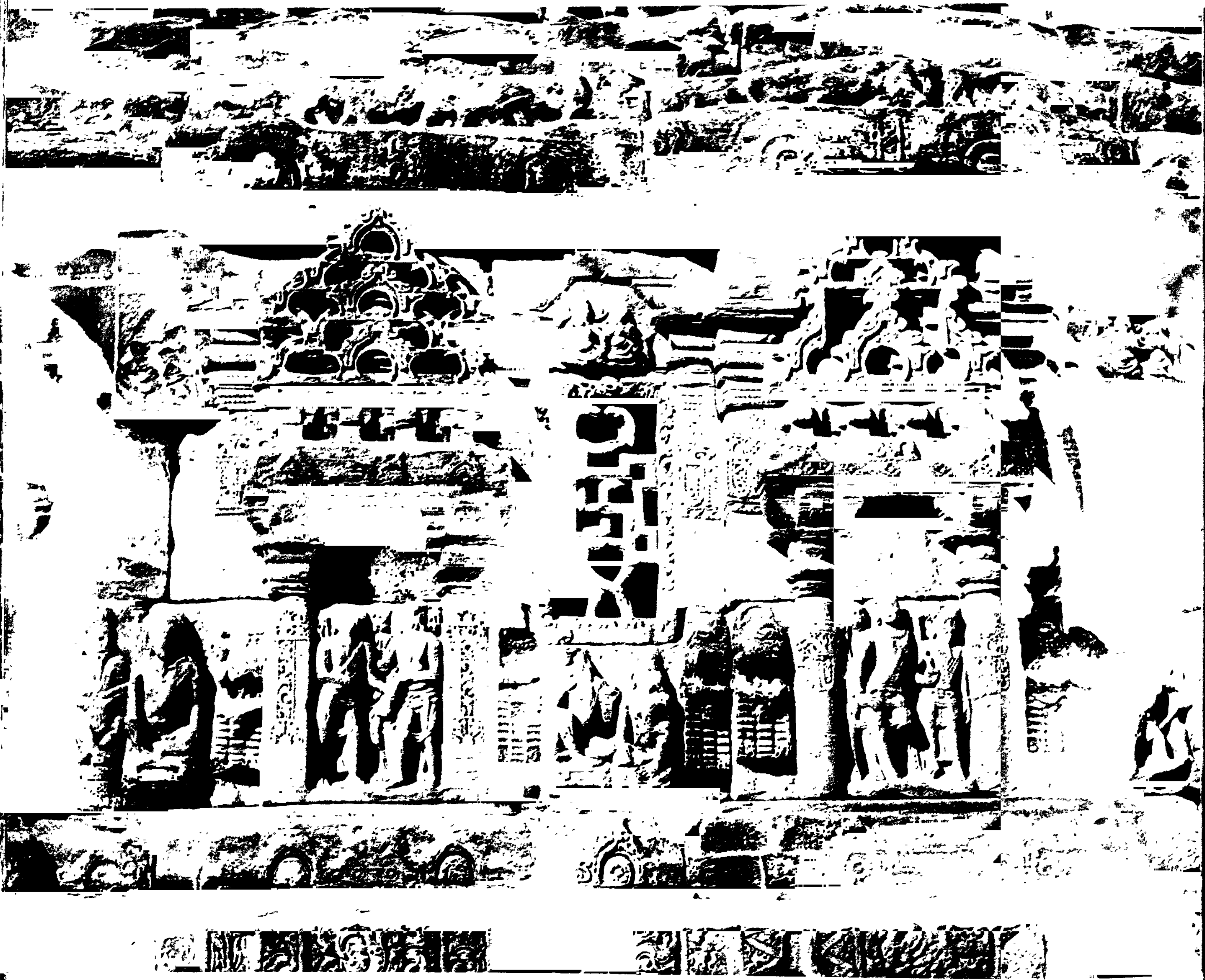
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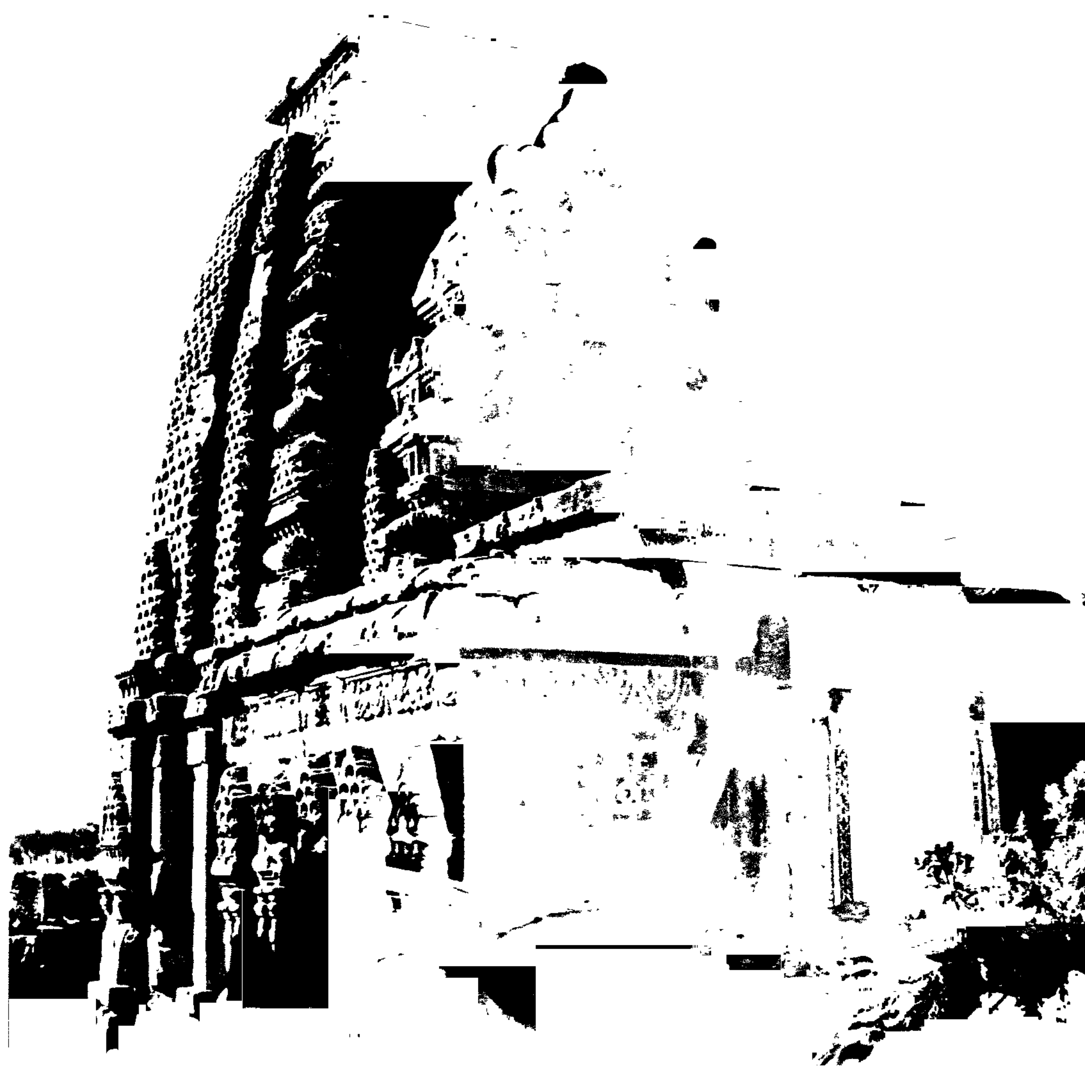
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THE FOURTH PERIOD: I. THE DRAVIDIAN DYNASTIES

The art of south India, or Dravidian art, was enriched by the Cholas, the successors of the Palavas. The religion of the Dravidian peoples was Brahmanic and their sanctuaries were consecrated to Siva, Visnu or minor deities of the Hindu pantheon. Their temples are more secluded than those of the northern dynasties: they were always surrounded by high walls, intersected by monumental gates, called *gopurams*, which gradually grew in size as their style took a definite form. According to some authors these *gopurams* derive from the Bhima Ratha at Mamallapuram. They are true towers with rectangular stories but, in contrast with the *vimanas* which consist of compressed stories and models of buildings, these *gopurams* have real stories which can be reached by interior staircases. They are almost always decorated with stucco and paint. Old temples are no longer abandoned in order to build new ones: they are continually repaired, modified and enlarged. In the end, the Dravidian temples assumed colossal proportions and the pillars and sculptures become increasingly more prominent than the architecture. Hindu mythology had been completed over the centuries, and the number of gods had increased. The temples became veritable stone books which recorded, as well as divine truths, stories of kings and the great men of this world.

Who were the Dravidians? According to the present state of our knowledge they seem to have been among the most ancient inhabitants of India. Their language was Tamil. They had a far more advanced civilisation than that of the northern invaders who drove them to the south. They did not have the caste system. Originally Animist, they were little by little converted to Jainism, then to Buddhism and finally to Brahmanism, the faith which soon became prevalent in the whole south, imposing its social, as well as religious, laws. The Dravidians were essentially an agricultural and commercial people. From the very earliest times they had been in contact with the ancient world of the Middle East and, in the last few centuries BC, perhaps even with Babylonia. Ptolemy obligingly describes the ports of south India and notes their merchandise: pearls, ivories, spices, etc. Pliny records that the bulk of Roman gold came from south India.

From before the beginning of the Christian era to about the second century AD, several kingdoms disputed the supremacy of the south among themselves: the Cholas, the Pandyas, the Cheras, etc. The Cholas, who had finally acquired by conquest a large empire in the Kaveri valley, were defeated in the second century by the Cheras and Pandyas. After a brief reign of the Cheras, the Pandyas governed the south from their capital, Maḍura, until the third century. They were then defeated by the Pallavas who moved their seat of government to Kanchi, the present-day Conjeeveram. The Pandyas retreated to a little territory in the extreme south of the peninsula; the Cholas had become petty princes. Until the eighth century the northern dynasties of the Pallavas retained overlordship and imposed Brahmanism on the peoples of the south. In the eighth and ninth centuries the Pandyas revived again, overthrew the power of the Pallavas who had already been much weakened by their wars against the Chalukyas, but in turn were dethroned by the Cholas who had come up from the south. The latter made Tanjore their capital. In the twelfth century the Cholas were again driven out by the Pandyas. In the fourteenth century the Muslim invasions and the Cheras destroyed once again the Pandya empire. Anarchy reigned for some time until the sovereigns of Vijayanagara conquered the south. Soon afterwards they were succeeded by the Nayaka who reigned until the arrival of the English and French.

Dravidian architecture received its first outlines under the aegis of the Pallavas (the Pallava people were Dravidian and only the nobility came from the north), but did not achieve its full development until the Chola dynasty (tenth-eleventh century).



FIG. 30. INDIA IN THE 11TH CENTURY: THE CHALUKYA AND THE CHOLA EMPIRE

The Dravidian Temple

The evolution of the *vimana*, the square sanctuary tower, reached its apogee in about 1000 in the great temple of Tanjore. Immediately afterwards we witness the degeneration and virtual disregard of the *vimana*, almost exclusively in favour of the *gopuram*. The *gopuram*, on the other hand, tended to become higher as the height of the *vimana* diminished, and in the seventeenth century the *gopurams* of the Dravidian temples assumed gigantic proportions, as for instance at Madura where the south *gopuram* is 170 feet high and has eleven stories. In order to be able to build them higher and higher the builders reverted to such light materials as brick and wood. The superstructures were then covered with sculpture and brightly painted stucco decorations. In contrast with the northern tradition of casual abandonment of a temple in order to build another in a different or more ornate style, the Dravidians made use of the original temple which they enlarged little by little, surrounding it with walls which became longer and longer and *gopurams* which grew higher and higher. They redecorated old pillars and gradually added *mandapas* to meet new needs, as well as constructing subsidiary buildings to house the ever-increasing temple staff. The temple complex became so large that it often became intermingled with the town in which it was housed. Thus we find that at Srirangam the temple complex contains no less than seven successive enclosures, embellished with twenty-one *gopurams* which decrease in size as one approaches the true sanctuary. The latter has lost its *vimana* which has become a simple cupola compensating for its exiguity by the richness of its decoration. The interior of the temple, on the other hand, is enriched with numerous pillars; some *mandapas* contain more than a thousand of them, all more or less decorated with carvings and paintings. Nor is ornamentation lacking upon the walls and ceilings. The temple becomes the raison d'être of the town, the pride of the kingdom. The bigger the temple, the more worshippers it attracts and the more it tends to develop. There would have been no end to the theocratic tendency of Dravidian architecture if modern times had not finally called a halt to this disproportionate expansion of temples.

A. The Art of the Cholas (900-1100)

210. GREAT TEMPLE, TANJORE. This temple was built on the banks of the Kaveri river and is surrounded by high fortified walls. In this period the temple was not only a place of worship but also the fortress in which the people could take refuge in case of war or invasion. Steps *(ghats)* guided the pilgrims' feet to the edge of the river for their ritual ablutions. The great temple of Tanjore, the Brihadesvara, does not in fact have a sacred tank. The ramparts visible on the photograph do not date from the Chola period but were constructed later, in 1777, by the French, from the debris of old temples, according to an inscription. A piece of sculpture can be seen projecting from the wall of the bastion.

211. BRIHADESVARA TEMPLE, TANJORE. This temple was built by Rajaraja the Great in about 1000. It consists mainly of a high, square *vimana*, standing on a cella with two stories. The *vimana* has 13 stories and reaches a height of 236 feet, its base measuring 79 feet on each side. The octagonal-type dome of this building must have been constructed out of one single block of stone weighing 80 tons, which was brought into position by means of a ramp, over 6 miles long. The temple itself lies in the middle of a huge, rectangular courtyard, 245 feet long, preceded by a sort of roofless vestibule which was added at a later date. There are in fact two entrance porches. Originally there existed a single porch surmounted by quite a low *gopuram*, A *mandapa* was built in front of the *vimana* in the fifteenth century. Between the sanctuary and the entrance there is a little sanctuary consecrated to Nandin, Siva's bull. Several little temples, as well as isolated *mandapas*, were subsequently built in the courtyard. But what is most striking is that the temple was built according to a general plan which was calculated in advance, in contrast with the majority of the other Dravidian temples which often, although wrongly, create an impression of disorder. In spite of later additions the temple has remained in line with the architects' concept (see ground-plan). The stories of the *vimana* are decorated with pavilions and models of buildings, surmounted by a structure related to the *kudu*, but which assumes rather the shape of a peacock spreading its tail. The *vimana* bears little sculp-

ture. The two first stories of the base, on the other hand, are decorated with splendid representations of deities.

212. BRIHADESVARA, TANJORE (DETAIL). This niche is decorated with pilasters in the characteristic Chola style; it contains a statue of Durga standing on the head of the buffalo which she has just defeated. On the wall, to the left and right, are representations of Siva. The pose of Durga is hieratic; she holds Visnu's emblems, the disc and the conch. From this time onwards the disc, which was previously seen in profile, is represented full-face. The lower face of the baldaquin seems to imitate carved timber work. The niche is surmounted by a miniature *gopuram*.

213. STEPS OF THE CELLA, TANJORE. In each niche decorating the walls of the cella is the figure of a deity; here we see Siva on the left, Visnu on the right. Two gigantic *dvarapalas* flank the doorway. The bases of these niches are decorated with intertwined dragons.

214. GOPURAM, TANJORE. The *gopuram* is rather like the *vimana* but square in lay-out, and not very high. The decorations on the walls of the first two stories of this monumental doorway are similar to those on the walls of the cella. The upper stories (three in this case) are decorated with brick sculpture and painted stucco.

215. SOKKESVARA, KANCHI. Since the Cholas used no cement to keep the stones of their monuments together, this temple in the centre of the sanctuary, with a tree growing from its centre, is in danger of collapse. It has an inscription dating from the fifteenth year of the reign of Parakesari, and would therefore be older than the great temple of Tanjore. But the exact date is uncertain, and all that can be said is that it is a temple in the Chola style. It has a circular dome with four *kudu*-shaped niches at the base. It is only a little temple which is passed by unnoticed, but which nevertheless contains some magnificent sculpture.

216. TEMPLE OF PANDAVAPERUMAL, KANCHI. This temple was built in the time of Kulottunga I, i.e. about 1100, on an old temple site. It has a curiously elongated dome, resembling a *gopuram* and which terminates at either end in the characteristic spread peacock's tail.

217. TEMPLE OF JAVARAHARESVARA, KANCHI. This temple is dedicated to "Him who cures fevers" and is a later development of the preceding temple. It has a circular cella and a rather low *vimana* of the same shape, its dome being oval. The dome is surmounted by three *kalasas*. It may date from around 1200. The decoration of some of the pilasters is peculiar to Chola art, especially the *kumbha pancharam* which has a vase as its base. Two instances can be seen here. In front of the cella, and adjoining it, is a *mandapa*.

218. TEMPLE OF VARDHAMANATHA, KANCHI. This is a Jaina temple. It contains several differently shaped *vimanas*. Under the Vijayanagara dynasties some additions were made to the original temple, such as the demon heads above the "spread peacock's tail", and the *mandapa*. The ceiling of the latter was also painted during this later period. These frescoes describe the lives of Dharmanatha and Neminatha and several other *thirtankaras*.

219. DANCING GIRL, TANJORE, from the Tanjore Gallery. Although its limbs are broken off, this figure retains its charm. The dancing girl, probably a temple dancer, is holding a garland. She has flowers in her hair, and wears a number of necklaces, the longest of which is the badge of her profession. The pose is supple, the design pure, the proportions perfect. Black sandstone.

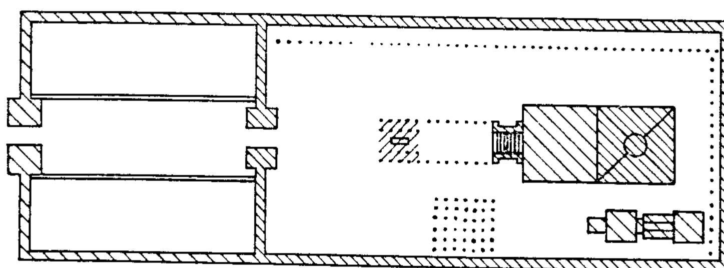


FIG. 31. GROUND-PLAN OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF TANJORE, SHOWING LATER ADDITIONS (LIGHT HATCHING)

B. Art under the Pandya Dynasties (1100-1350)

The Pandyas surrounded their temples with multiple enclosures and, most notably, erected enormous gates or *gopurams* over the entrance gates at the four cardinal points. In general, the *vimana* with its low elevation, with the exception of the two Chola temples of Tanjore and Gangaikonda-Cholapuram, almost disappears now beside these gigantic brick and stucco constructions. The walls remain bare, but the *gopurams*, on the other hand, are decorated more and more.

220. EAST GOPURAM, CHIDAMBARAM. This is the most typical *gopuram* of this period. The granite basement with its vertical walls, has two stories. The porch proper is surmounted by seven brick stories which are covered with niches and miniature buildings. The *gopuram* culminates in a vaulted roof which terminates at either end in a "peacock's tail", which some authors derive from the *kudu*. It seems more likely that this motif, which is only found on *gopurams* in the Tamil country, does in fact derive from the representation of a peacock spreading its tail, since the peacock is the emblem of Muruga, the Tamil name for Karttikeya or Skanda, Siva's son. The *kudu* never radiates but is developed and decorated with motifs alien to its form. The "peacock's tail" motif radiates in the same way as the feathers of the bird's tail. Furthermore, the peacock is a sacred bird in the south. The pillars seen in the foreground here are for an awning on feast days. The *gopuram* is 131 feet high, 88 feet wide and 60 feet long. Its construction was begun during the reign of the Chola king Kulottunga II (1130 ?).

221. EAST GOPURAM, CHIDAMBARAM (DETAIL). This sculpture may represent two princely persons who completed the building of this *gopuram*. They are surrounded by bas-reliefs of dancers demonstrating the 108 attitudes of the sacred dance. The temple of Chidambaram is in fact the place where Siva is believed to have invented the dance. The origin of the temple itself is very old. According to the chronicles the Pallava king, Simhavarman, repaired it and built additions. The kings of Vijayanagara completed the temple by adding the north *gopuram* at a later date.

222. EAST GOPURAM, CHIDAMBARAM (DETAIL). This statue represents the sage Narada, the favourite son of Sarasvati, who acted as messenger to the gods. A friend of the gods as of the demons, boon companion of Krisna, the eighth incarnation of Visnu, he was master of every branch of intellectual activity. He is here represented with a vina, the muscial instrument invented by his mother.

223. SPHINX, SANCTUARY, CHIDAMBARAM. This figure, remotely derived from the Pallava lion, of which it retains the collar-like mane, has a human face. Two fangs stick out from its mouth and it wears earrings. The theme is very rare in Indian iconography.

224. ELEPHANT, GREAT MANDAPA, CHIDAMBARAM. Portrayed in natural size in low relief on the walls of the "*mandapa* of a thousand pillars". Lower left, frieze of dancers and musicians. This elephant which appears to have seized someone in its trunk might be a *dvarapala*, or door-guardian.

225. GOPURAM, KUMBHAKHONAM. Another *gopuram* typical of the Pandyan style, which shows the multiple niches and miniature buildings which adorn the stories.

226. PANDYAN PILLAR, KUMBHAKHONAM. On one face Rama is represented with his bow. Beneath him is an erotic scene. On the other face is the figure of a bearded man.

227. DETAIL OF PILLAR ON PLATE 226. This shows a bearded man with a rosary in one hand and a vessel in the other. He is wearing a long necklace and is probably a saint.

228. DETAIL OF A PILLAR, RAMASWAMI TEMPLE, KUMBHAKHONAM. Perhaps the representation of a celestial beauty. The supporting pillar is carved in a cut-out pattern based on the swastika.

229. PILLAR, KUDUMIAN. Portrays another celestial beauty. Erotic dwarfs, mischievous and bearded, attempt to steal away her drape. (Compare with plate 228).

230. PILLAR, KUDUMIAN. As the parasol above his head indicates, this portrait represents a king. He is covered with jewellery. The sculptor has skilfully expressed the fierce as well as majestic aspect of his subject who may have been the great Rajah Jatvarman Sundara Pandya I (1251-1272 ?).

231. TEMPLE OF PERUMAL (VISNU), MADURA. This is a small temple, dedicated to the Tamil god Kudal Alagar. Its *vimana* is one of the most perfect ni south India. It is square in plan and higher than the *gopurams*. It terminates in a round cupola surmounted by a finial of pure gold. The plan of the temple is extremely simple: a single *mandapa* rises in front of the sanctuary, the whole being enclosed by high walls. Although of Pandyan type, this temple is a copy and was erected at the end of the 17th century.

C. Art under the Dynasty of Vijayanagara (1350-1365)

In ceaseless struggle against the Muslim invaders the Vijayanagara dynasty, whose conquests extended over the whole of south India before they were finally eliminated by their vassals, the Nayaka, left in most of the conquered towns notable buildings, and their temples and monuments survive in great numbers in south India, at Chidambaram, Madura, Kanchi, etc. Characteristic of their style is a great proliferation of pillars and subsidiary buildings.

232. MANDAPA, TEMPLE OF VITTALSWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. With the development of the Brahmanic religion which grew more complicated under the ever increasing influence of the Brahman caste, the temples acquired numbers of such new buildings as the *Kalyana-mandapas*, reserved for para-religious, musical or poetic ceremonies, and the *ammans*, or subsidiary buildings, reserved for the female equivalent of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated. The use of ceremonial cars spread and the god went for an outing and got married every year at fixed dates.

These parvenus demanded space and suitable housing. The *mandapa* which we see here, separated from the temple, has composite pillars, decorated not only with human figures but also with animals. The porch roof has increased in size and decoration and the roof is beginning to be loaded with a variety of miniature buildings.

233. VITTALSWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. The temple in its turn becomes a *mandapa* with several entrances and extremely elaborate pillars. The pillar in the foreground consists of sixteen small columns which differ slightly in width and height and on which the priests used to knock to produce sounds which were re-echoed by the vaulting. The porch roofs become virtual entablatures. The temple is still built on a base of considerable height.

234. STONE CAR, VITTALSWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. It is situated before the main sanctuary and represents the divine vehicle. It is constructed like the wooden cars used to transport the deity during festivals. Its highly decorated stone wheels are sometimes carved independently of the axle and turn freely upon it, but normally it is a static monument which sometimes contains a sanctuary. This example was surmounted by a kind of *vimana* which collapsed at the end of the last century.

235. DETAIL OF A PILLAR, VITTALSWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. This kind of bas-relief is stylistically typical. Episodes from the great religious epics are often portrayed. Here we see Sita thanking Hanuman after his rescue of her from Ravana who was holding her prisoner on the island of Lanka (Ceylon). Left, a lion which forms part of the same pillar.

236. DETAIL OF GOPURAM, VITTALSWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. Almost all the *gopurams* of this period bear vertical friezes carved on the uprights which portray the *avataras*, or various forms of Visnu. At the base of this ascending frieze is always found a statue of a woman standing on a *makara*, symbolising the Ganges. The one shown here, although much mutilated, still retains a remarkable suppleness, further accentuated by the figure-of-eight movement of the climbing plants which surround her. The voluminous chignon sags to one side.

237. TEMPLE OF HAZARA RAMASWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. The plan of this temple, built by Krisnadeva Raja (1509-1530?), is more simple than that of the Vittalswami. Its construction is also more austere. The three-storied *vimana*, decorated with miniature buildings, is surmounted by square domes.

238. WALL, HAZARA RAMASWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. The outer wall of this temple is covered with bands of friezes which recall those of Greece. The subjects are either purely decorative (the elephants in the lower band) or record religious and military scenes. The reliefs are very flat, as though designed for medals.

239. EXTERIOR PILLAR, HAZARA RAMASWAMI, VIJAYANAGARA. If the exterior of this temple does not show great elaboration, the pillars which support the ceilings, on the other hand, must be considered among the most beautiful of this style. They are more simple here than in the Vittal but delicately carved and the brackets are given their full decorative value. Here, the "drops of water" with which these efflorescent brackets used to end, have been broken off.

240. ELEPHANTS' STABLES, VIJAYANAGARA. Although the Vijayanagara dynasties retained a traditional style for their temples, which only evolved in so far as they did not depart from the general lines laid down in the *Silpasastras*, they borrowed widely from the Muslims, with whom they were constantly in touch, a variety of architectural styles for their secular buildings. An example is this elephant stable of which the arches and domes are borrowed from the style of Bijapur.

241. VELLAI GOPURAM, SRIRANGAM. The Vaisnavite temple of Sri Rangam is one of the most extensive of India. It consists of more than seven enclosures and twenty-one *gopurams*. In fact, it includes in its

walls almost the whole of the town. Certain *gopurams* were erected by the Vijayanagara dynasty; others were built later. The miniature buildings are greatly increased in number and the carvings begin to overspill their settings. Near its its base is situated the famous Court of Horses.

242. COURT OF HORSES, SRIRANGAM. Thus called on account of the many pillars which decorate the entrance of a *mandapa* and which are the most perfect type of the Vijayanagara style. The horses rear over the figures of enemies or of wild animals fighting against armed men. The *vimana* or the *gopuram* of a temple is represented above each group which rests on a high base decorated with various scenes. The art is beginning to crystallise into a formalism which is no longer religious but dynastic before starting to degenerate.

243. PILLAR, SRIRANGAM. One of these pillars is here seen from the front. A group consisting of a woman mounted on the shoulders of an armed man is posed under a rearing horse, symbolising, perhaps, the Iron Age (the present time) in which woman has reduced man to slavery. (This is a wholly Brahmanical view).

244. PILLAR, SRIRANGAM. This portrays a horse with a fantastic head, leaping on an elephant. The pillar is painted, as were all the pillars originally, and dates from the beginning of this style.

245. SOUTH GOPURAM, EKAMBARESVANATHA TEMPLE, KANCHI. This also has nine stories and is preceded by two *mandapas* with four pillars. The corner of the first porch can be seen at the upper right.

246. DETAIL OF A GOPURAM PILLAR, EKAMBARESVANATHA, KANCHI. This is a curious bas-relief; it shows a mythical bird, in reality a form of Siva, for it carries a gazelle in one hand, swallowing a fish, which is Visnu in his Matsya-avatara.

247. BAS-RELIEF, OUTER MANDAPA, EKAMBARESVANATHA, KANCHI. A polylobate frame, clearly of Muslim inspiration, has been incised above a group portraying Siva with a *naga* head-dress offering his son Ganesa to Parvati (?).

248. DETAIL OF A PILLAR, EKAMBARESVANATHA, KANCHI. This most probably represents the royal standard of the kings of Vijayanagara: a boar, threatened by a sword and surmounted by a sun and moon, on an azure field.

249. FRESCO, THE JAINA TEMPLE OF VARDHAMANA, TIRUPATIKUNRAM, KANCHI. Although this temple was erected around 1100, during the reign of the Chola dynasty, the paintings decorating the ceiling of the *mandapa*, which was reserved for concerts, date only from the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. This fresco represents a temple. In its sanctuary, in the middle of a sort of zodiak, is seated the deity, a *tirthankara*. On each side of the temple is a *dvarapala*. The one on the right seems to be making a fire offering. Above a space bestarred with bees are other deities. The top of this sanctuary is crowned with the triple umbrella as in Buddhist stupas.

D. The Art of the Nayaka (after the 15th Century)

The architecture and decoration of temples of Dravidian style reached their apogee, and at the same time began to decline, with the style elaborated at Madura, mainly under the Nayaka dynasties. The Nayaka were originally viceroys of the Vijayanagara empire, ruling chiefly at Madura, Tanjore, Gingee and Ikkeri. These princes, profiting from the decline of the empire of which they were the vassals, proclaimed their political and administrative independence and thus precipitated the fall of their overlords. The greatest of these potentates was Tirumala Nayaka (1623-1659) who from his capital at Madura organised a small, personal empire which he enriched with numerous temples. Under his auspices some existing temples were enlarged and immense *gopurams* added to others. Pillars decorated with dragons and horses became the general rule. The style is above all characterised by a systematic overloading of all the architectural structures which end by almost disappearing under the accumulation of sculpture and decoration.

250. SOUTH GOPURAM, TEMPLE OF MINAKSHI, MADURA. This temple is the biggest at Madura and one of the most remarkable of the period. It is enclosed by a succession of walls of which the outermost forms a rectangle 820 feet by 800 feet; it has four enormous *gopurams*. Apart from the two inner sanctuaries of Minakshi and Sundaresvar, the whole temple is the work of Tirumala Nayaka, the former temple having been razed to the ground by Malik Kafur's expedition in 1310. Construction

began in 1560 and took 120 years to complete. The Hindu administrators of this temple assert that it contains 33,000,000 carvings in stone and in stucco. The temple has nine *gopurams.* Those which decorate the outer walls are obviously the highest. The south *gopuram* is the most remarkable and rises to a height of more than 148 feet. Its gently incurving lines give it great elegance and the impression of dizzy height is thereby accentuated.

251. VIEW FROM THE TOP OF SOUTH GOPURAM, MADURA. A part of the temple can be seen, of which the flat roofs of the *mandapas* and of the corridors are characteristic, as well as other *gopurams* on the east side and the staircases leading to the sacred tank. In the background stretches the town of Madura; in the foreground the details of a stucco cornice, decorated with a typical dragonhead, can be seen.

252. KAMBATTADI MANDAPA, TEMPLE OF MINAKSHI, MADURA. It is situated in front of the principal sanctuary of Sundaresvar, of which the closed door can be seen in the background. The pillars of this *mandapa* are enormous and decorated with carvings of the various aspects of Siva. In the middle of the *mandapa* a shaft pierces the ceiling, indicating the location of the sanctuary.

253. GANESA, MANDAPA OF A THOUSAND PILLARS, MADURA. It is situated at the entrance of the *mandapa* and is worshipped before any enterprise, for Ganesa is the god of Wisdom and of Good Fortune. He is here shown dancing, with a deity on his knee.

254. SARASVATI, MANDAPA OF A THOUSAND PILLARS, MADURA. This carving is one of the most remarkable of those which decorated the 895 pillars of this *mandapa.* Sarasvati is shown playing the *vina* which she is believed to have invented. The extreme abundance of details in the treatment of jewellery and clothing and the rather mannered modelling of the flesh, make this pillar one of the masterpieces of Nayaka style.

255. CORRIDOR, RAMESVARAM. This temple, located on an island facing Ceylon, is one of the biggest in India. Its pillared corridors extend for 2½ miles. Some of them are decorated, as at Madura, with human figures or fantastic beasts,; others, though simpler, preserve a similar style.

256. CORRIDOR, RAMESVARAM. The columns are raised and their alignment produces an extraordinary impression of distance. They are somewhat unskilfully painted in white and red.

257. NAYAKA PILLAR, JAMBUKESVARA, TIRUNAVANAI KOVIL. The shaft is proportionately short but the capital assumes enormous proportions and divides into arms and brackets decorated with fantastic beasts and tear-drop pendentives. These gigantic pillars actually support nothing. The roof is flat and is usually formed of slabs of stone laid side by side or, as here, of corrugated iron.

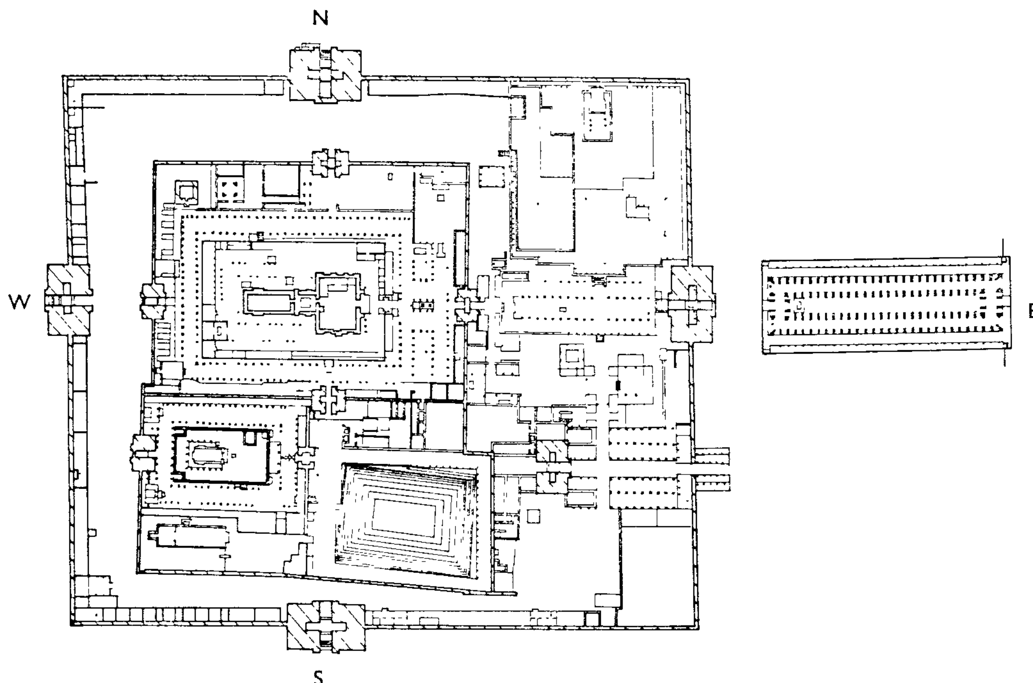
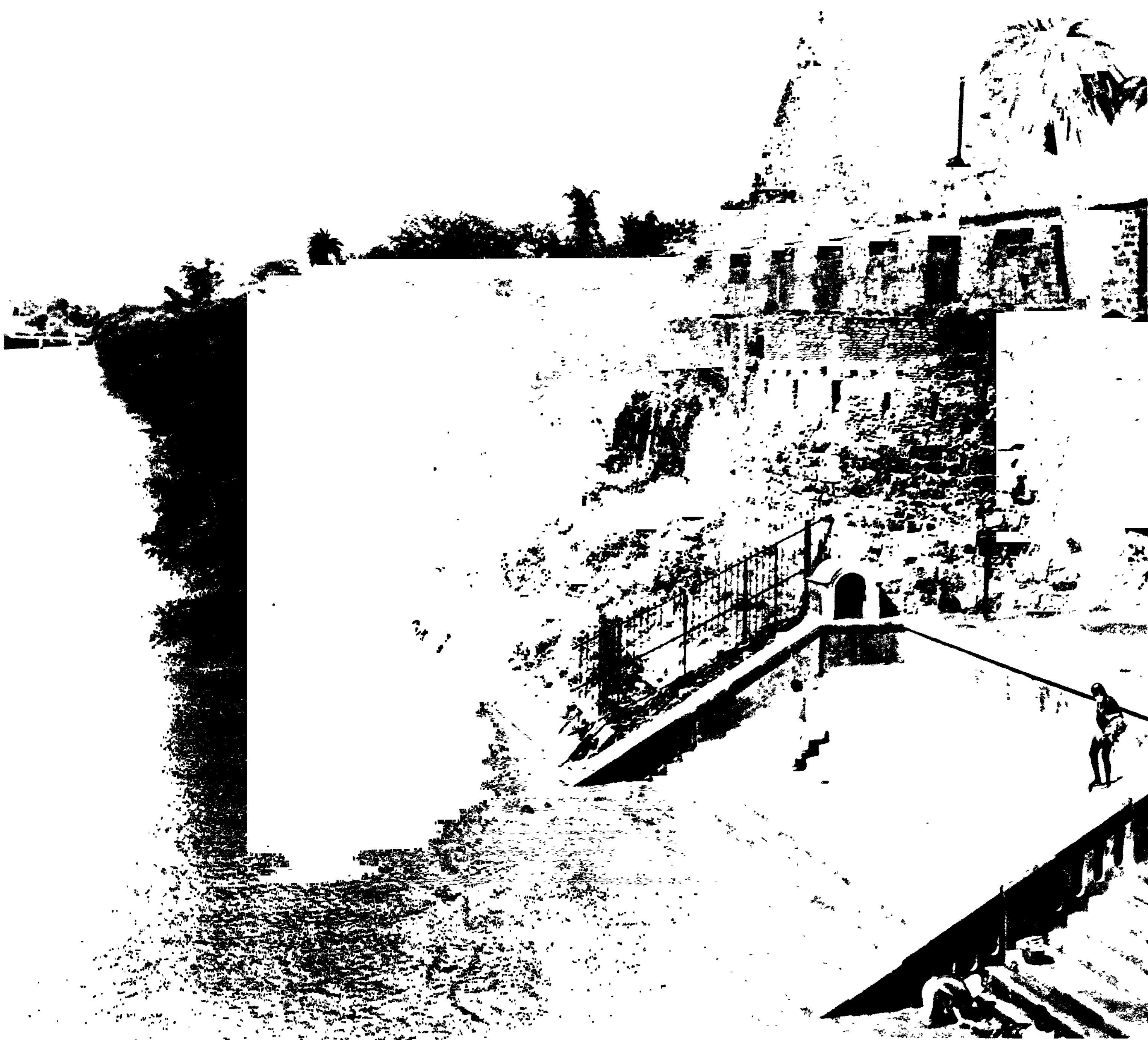
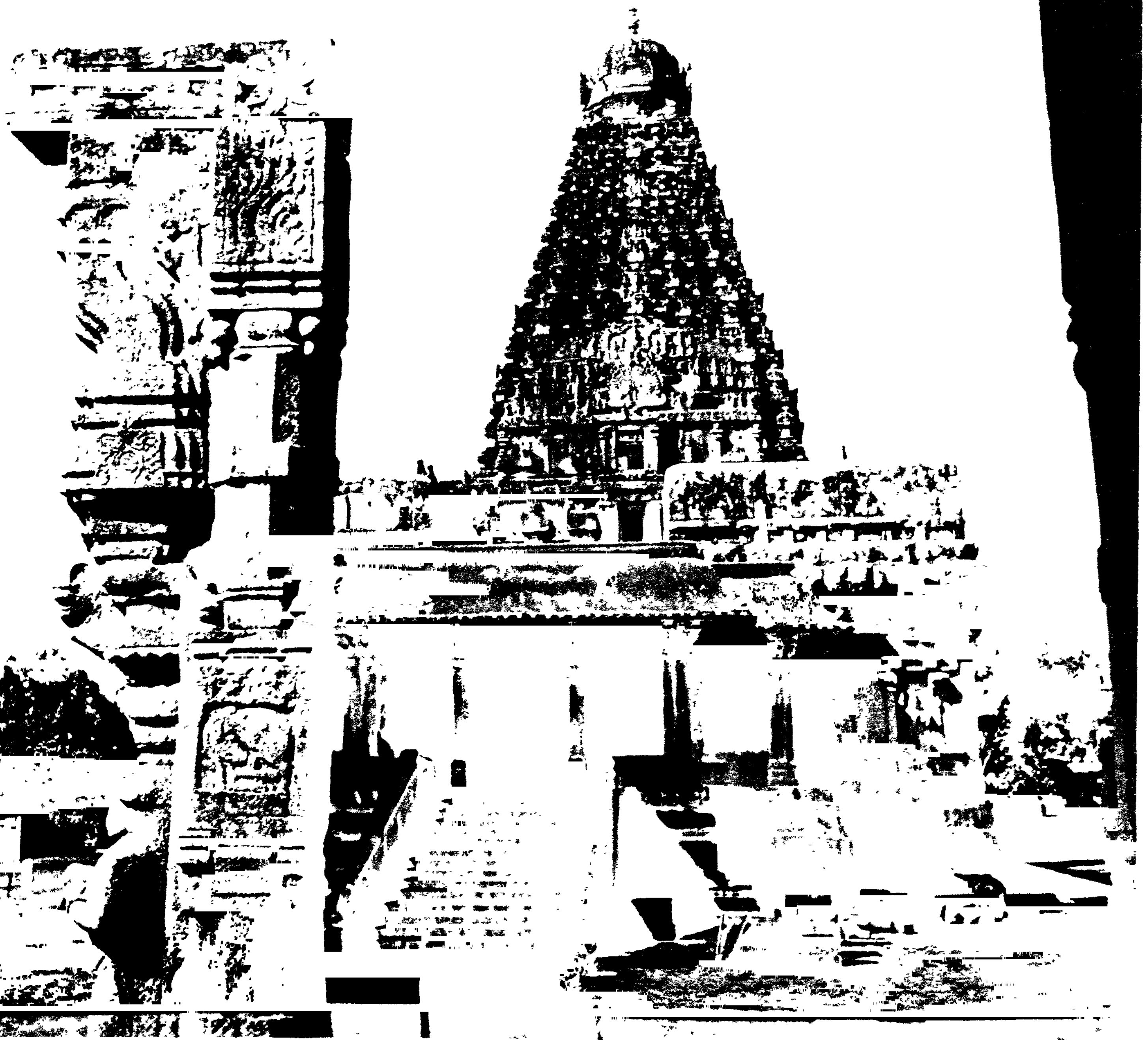


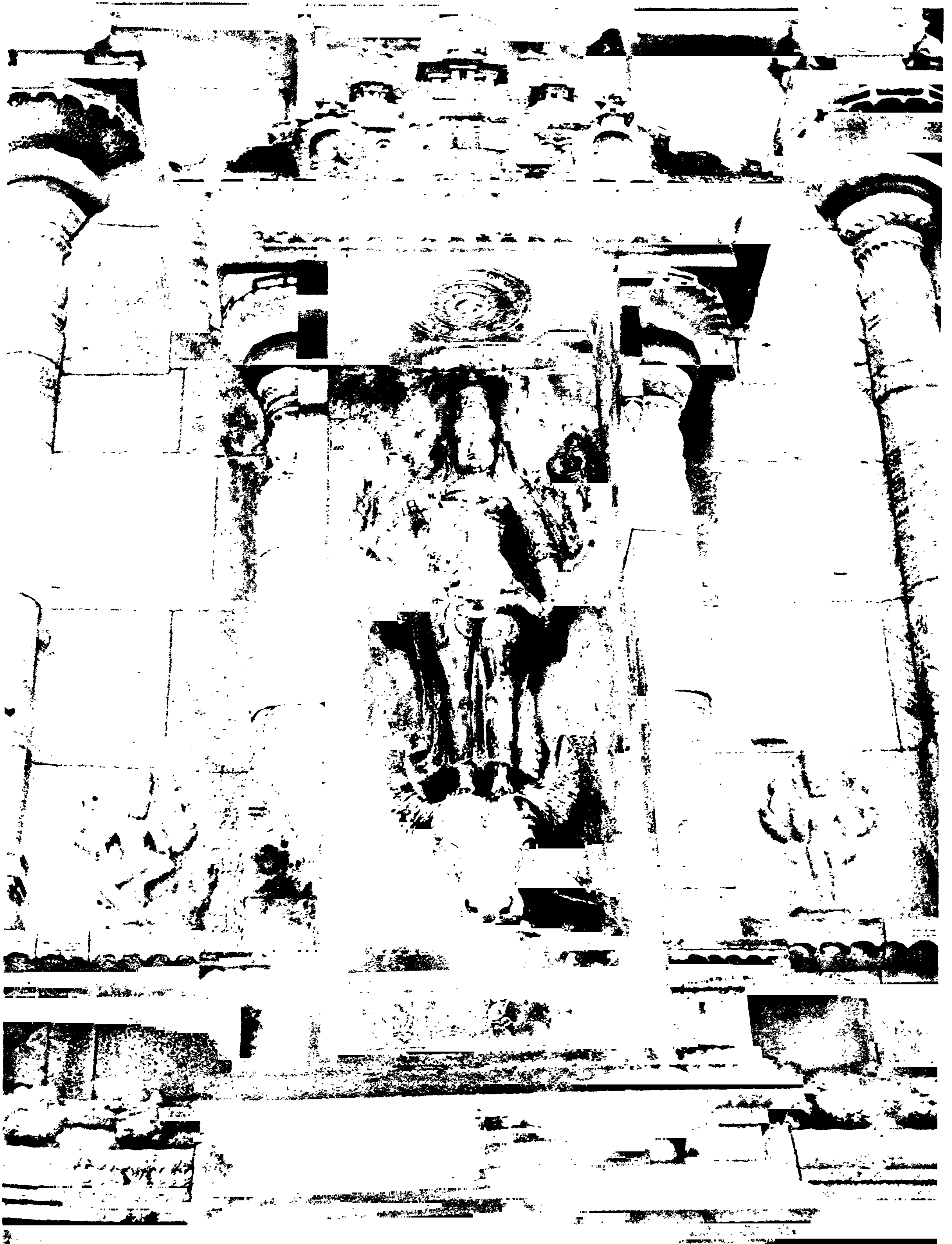
FIG. 32. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF MINAKSHI AT MADURA



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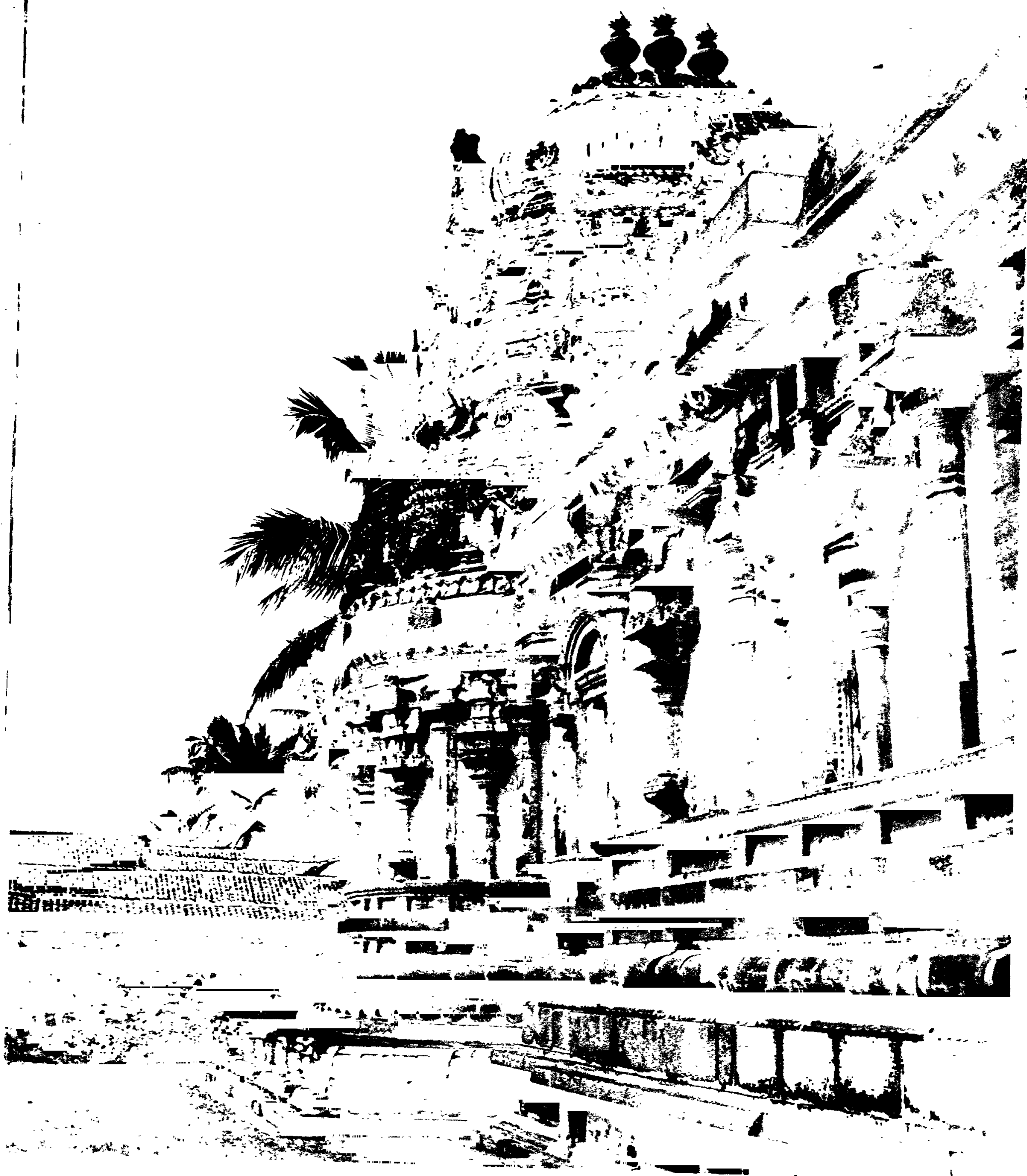
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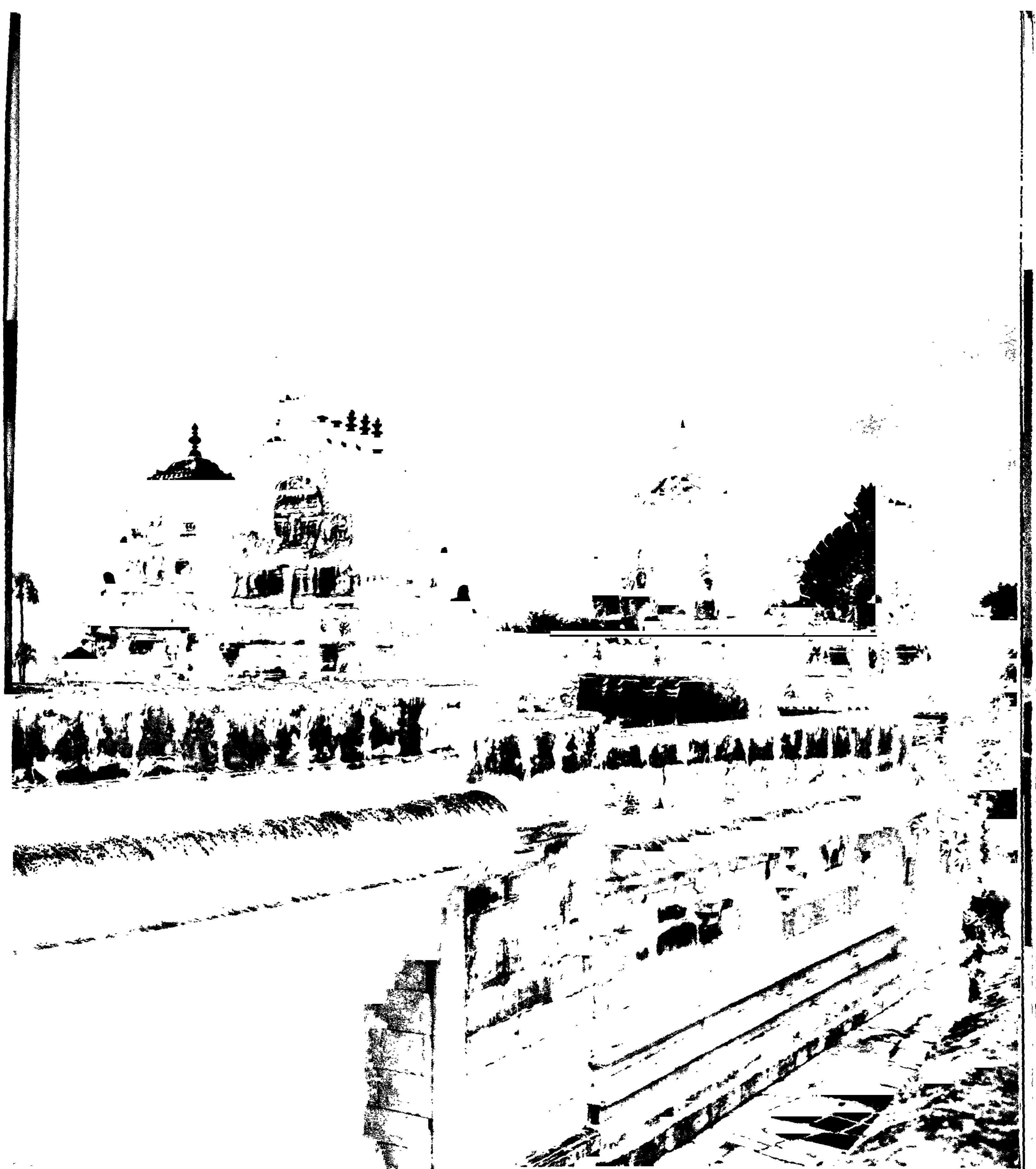




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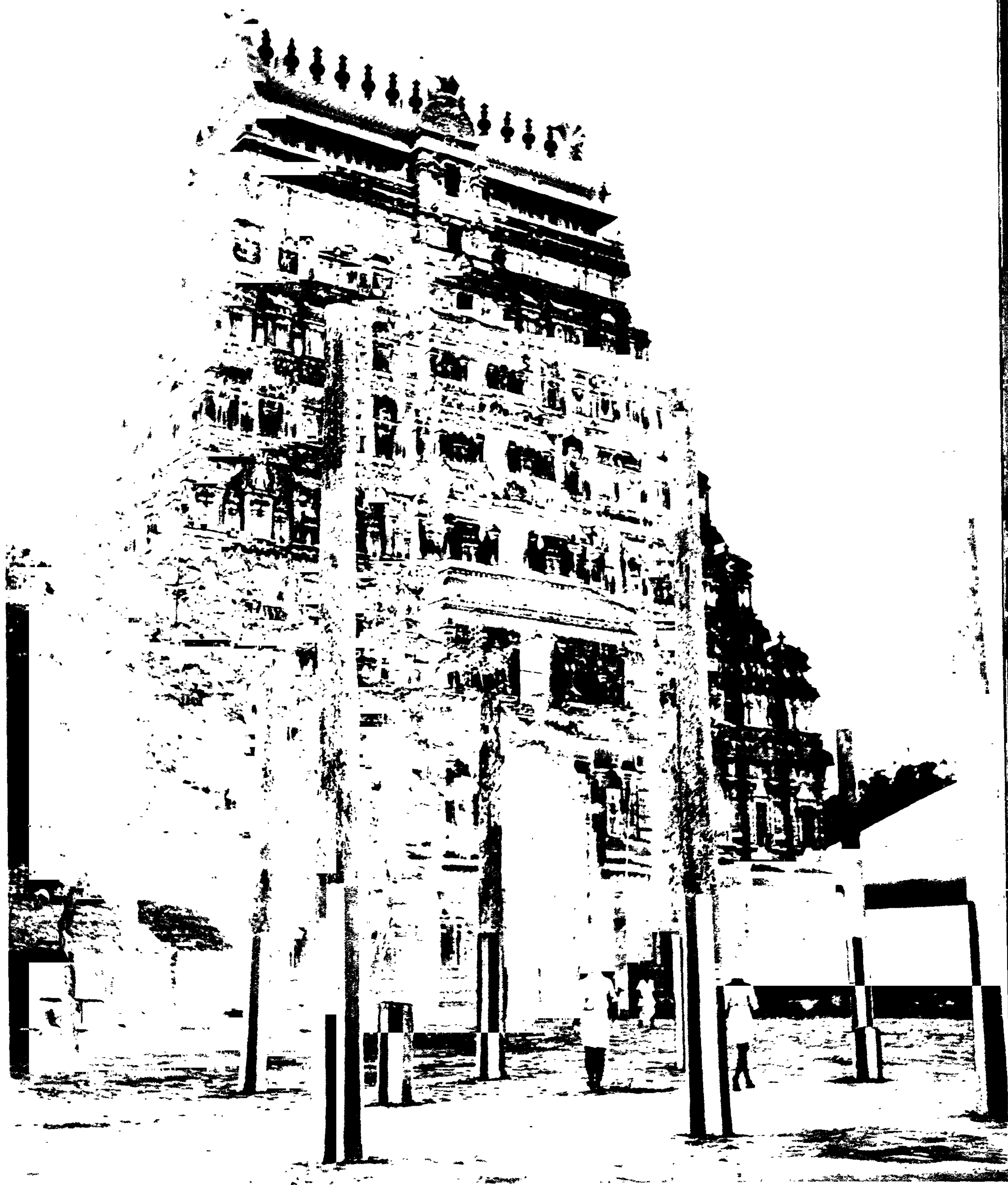






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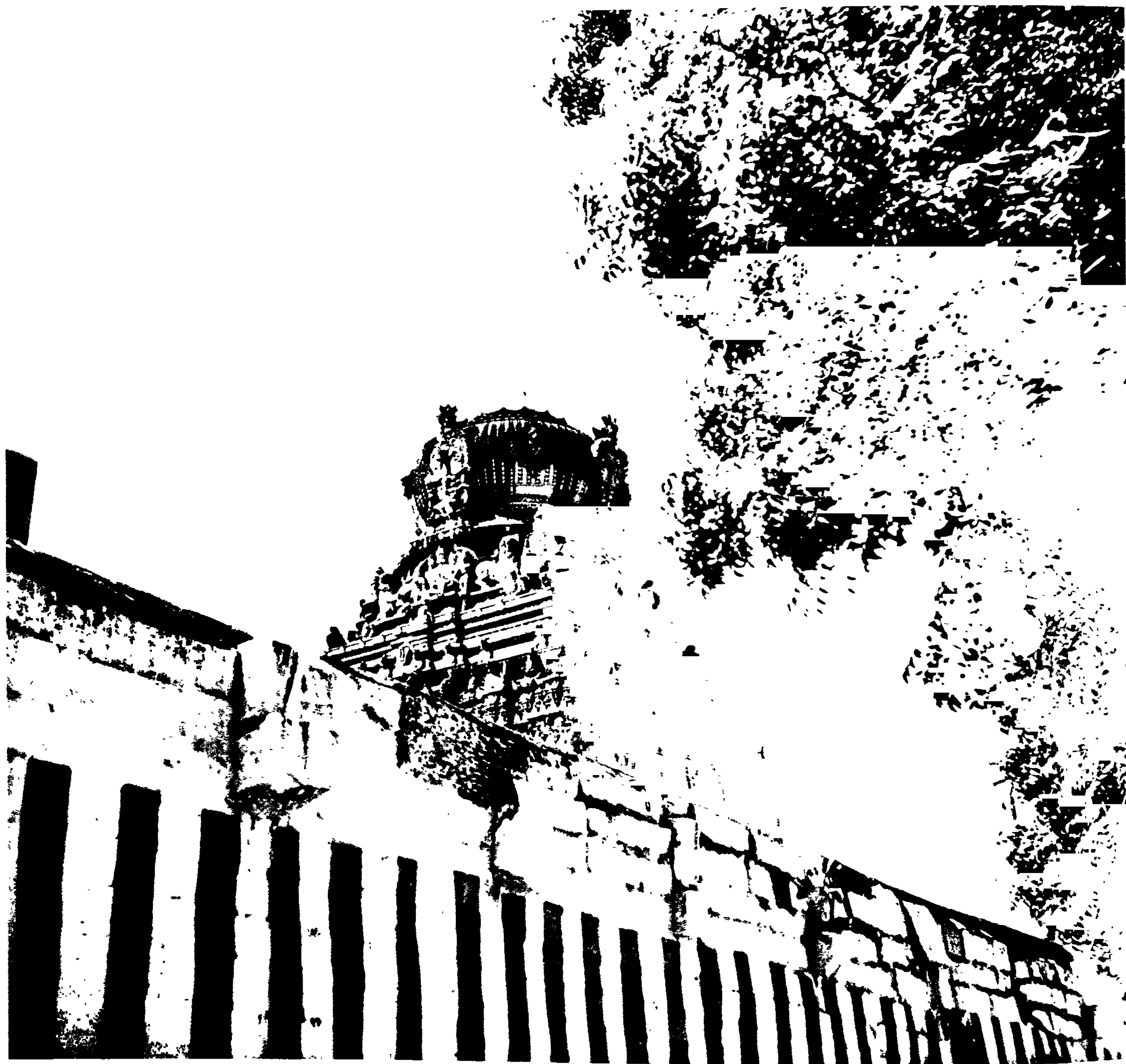


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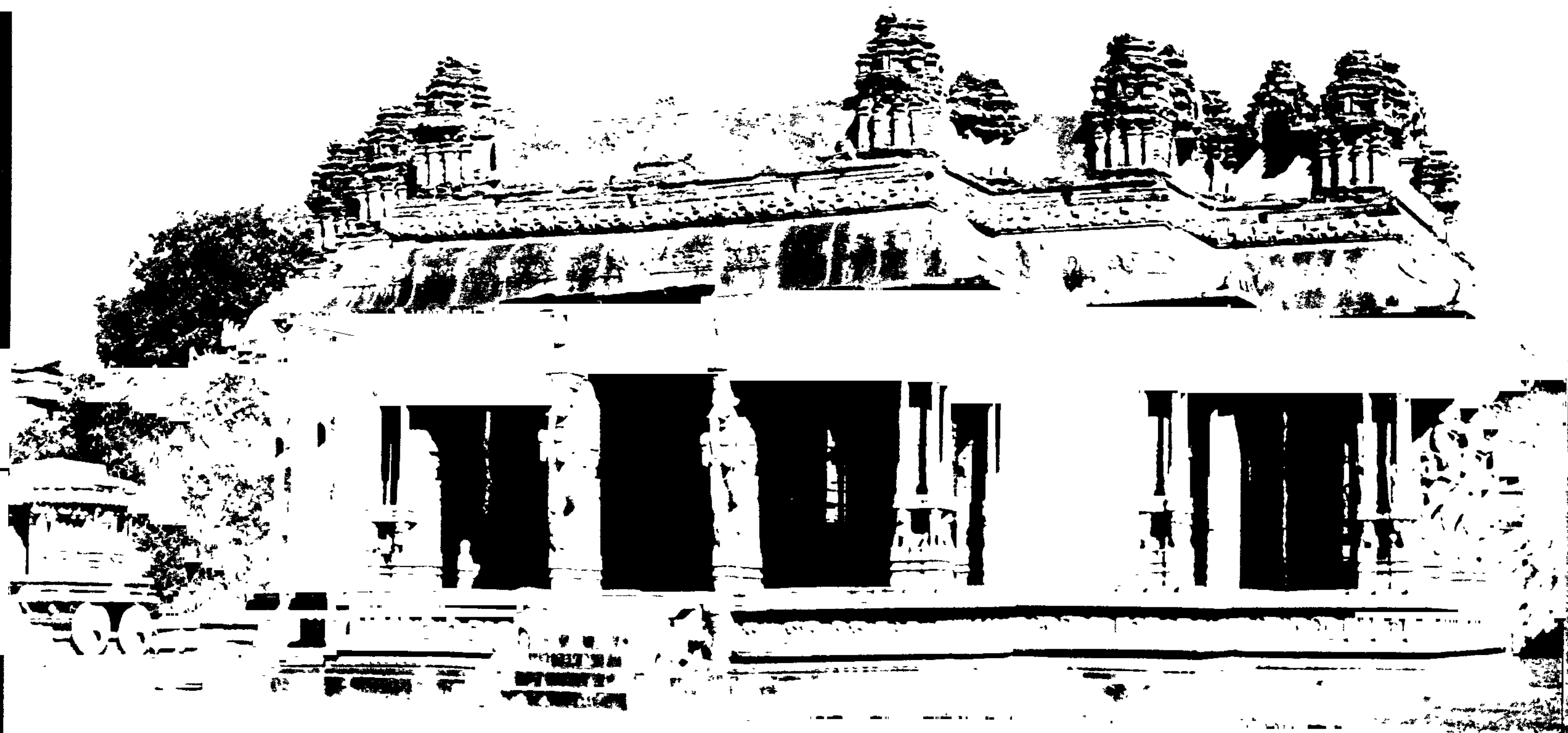




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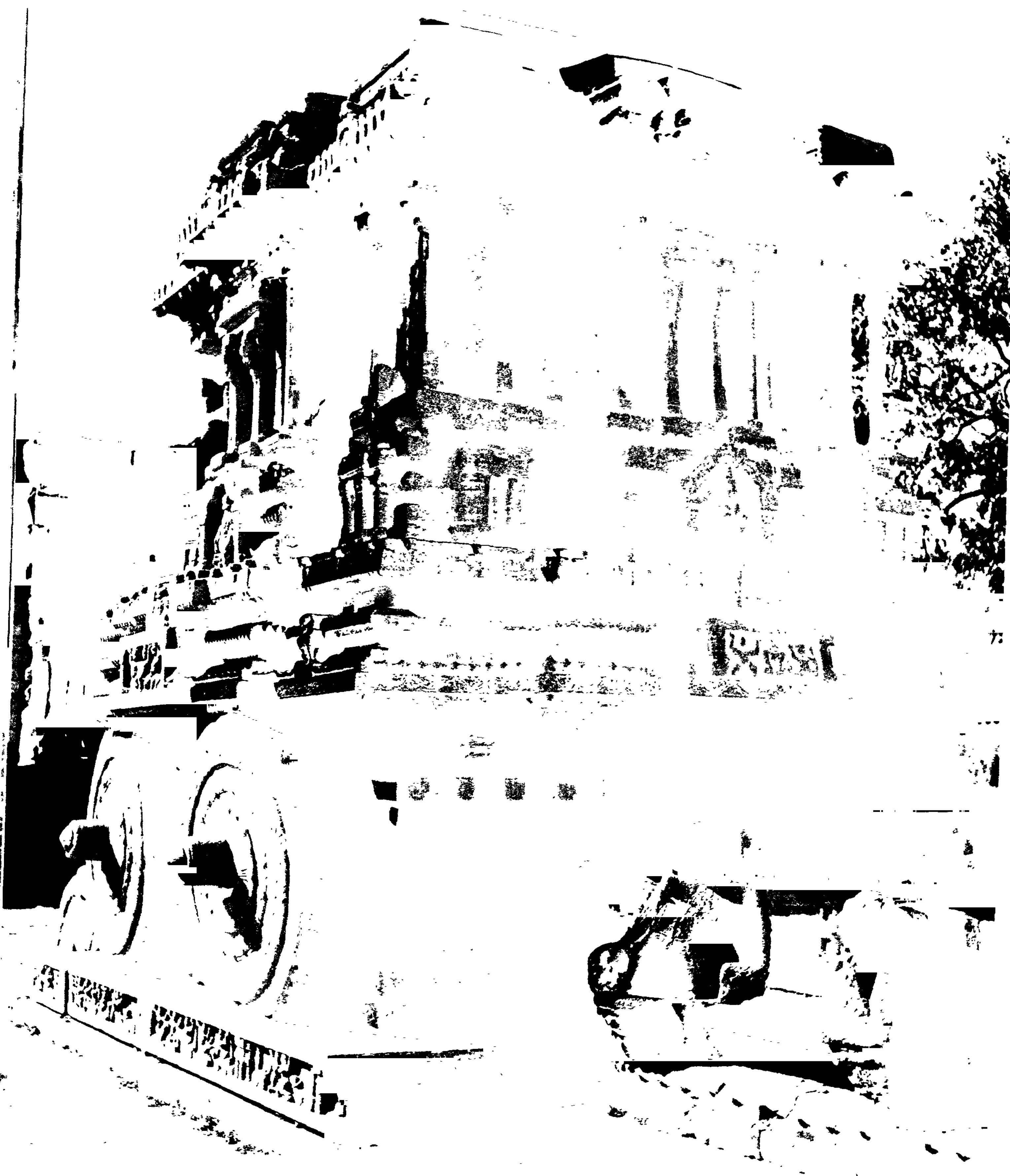


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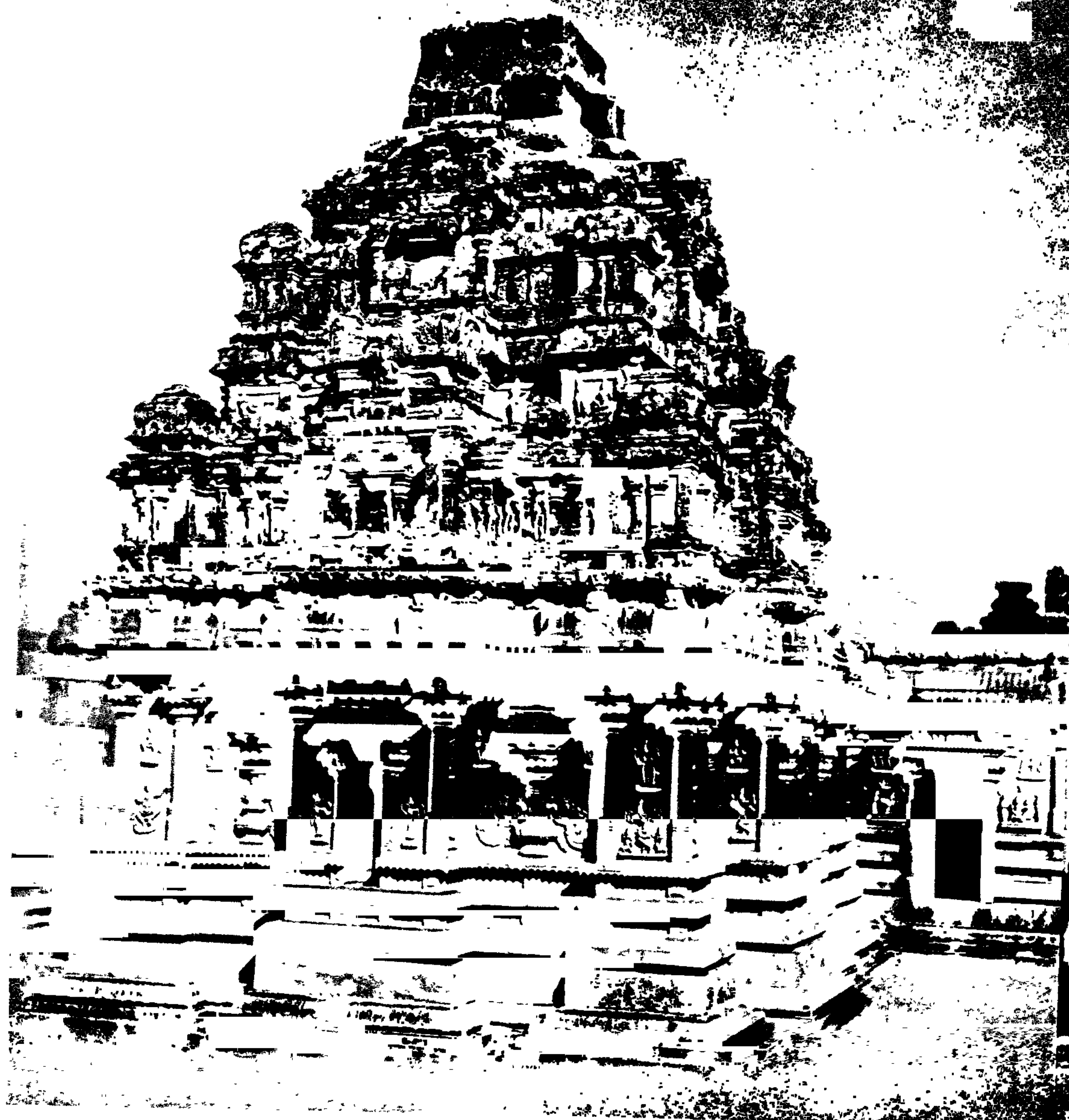


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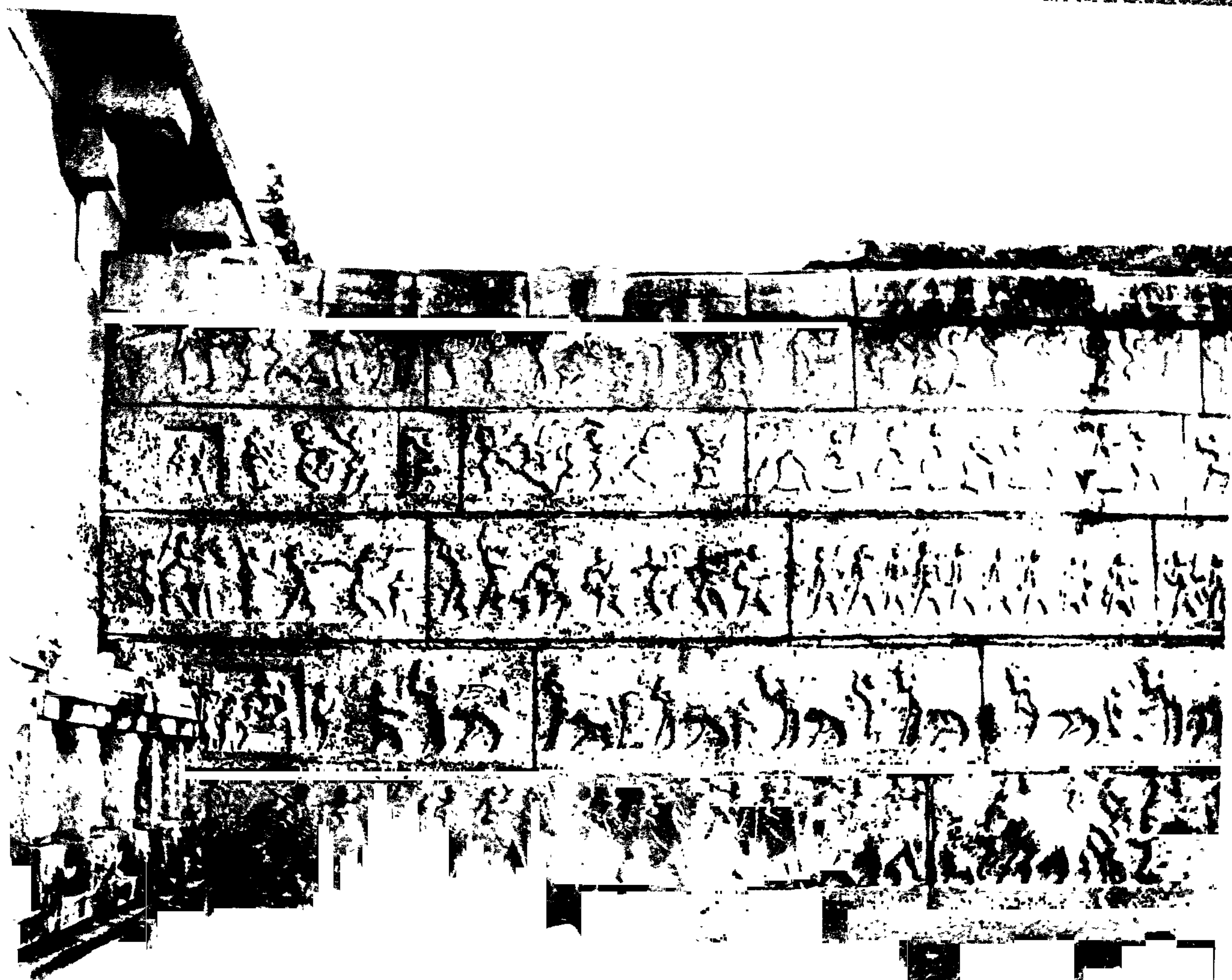




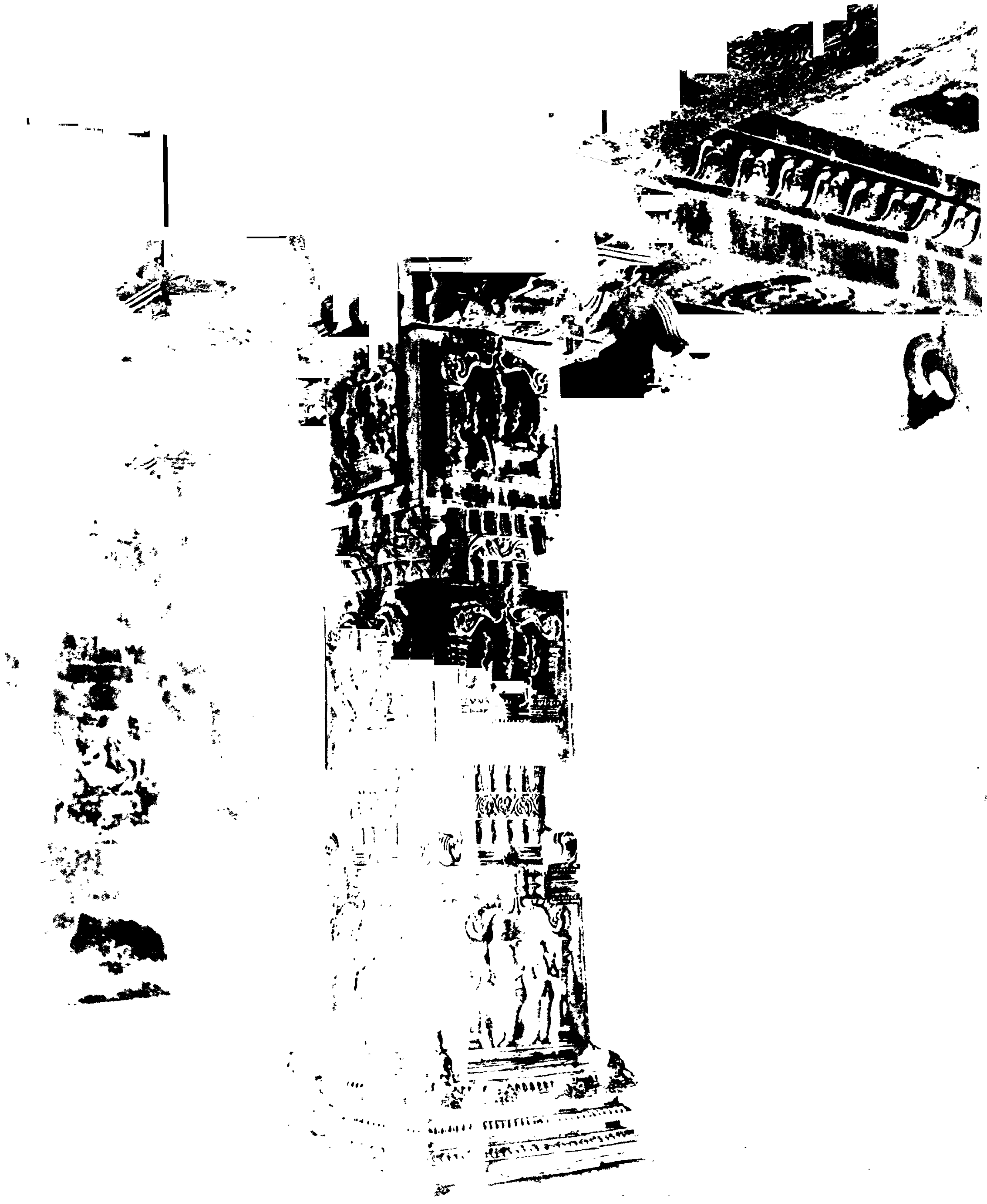
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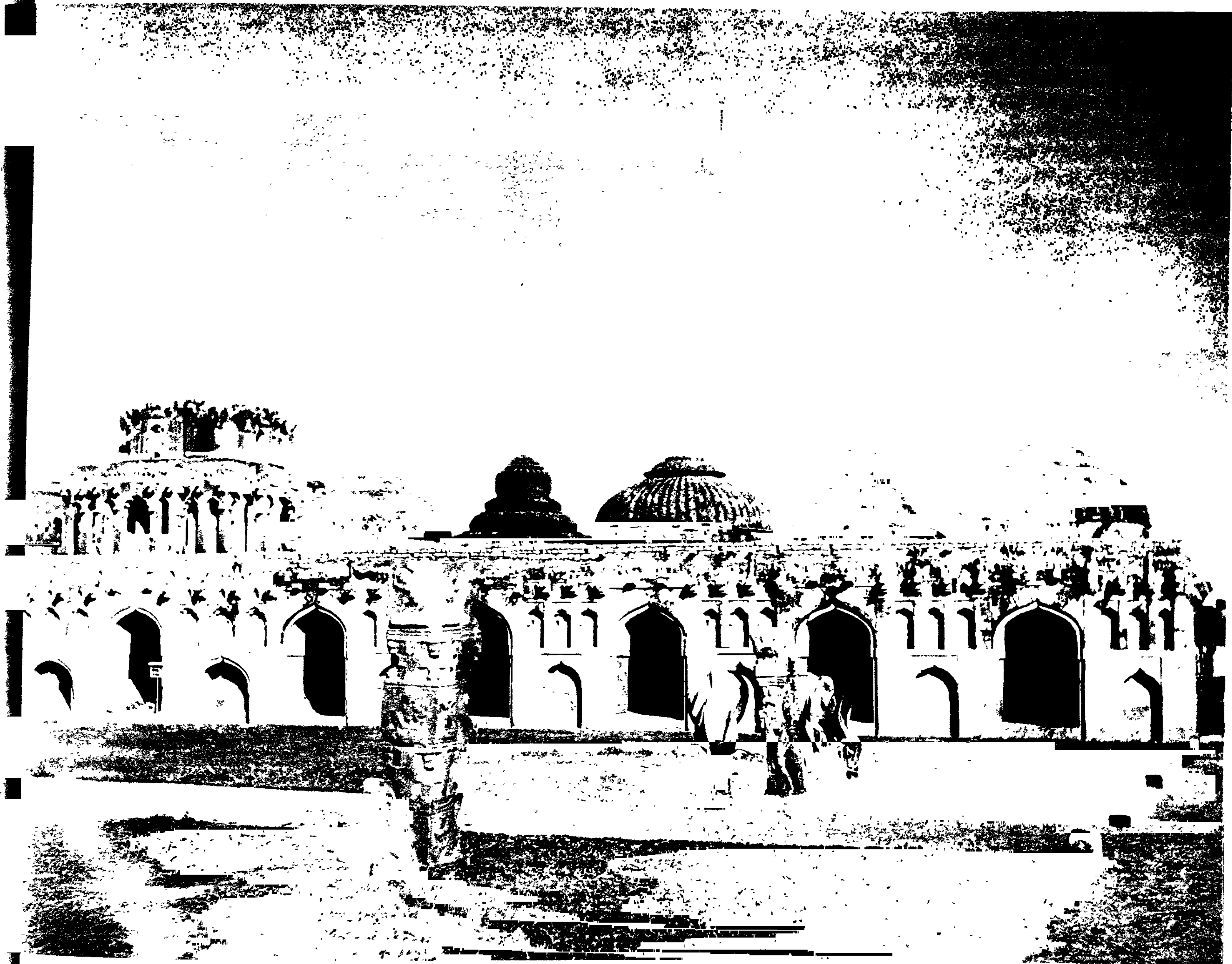
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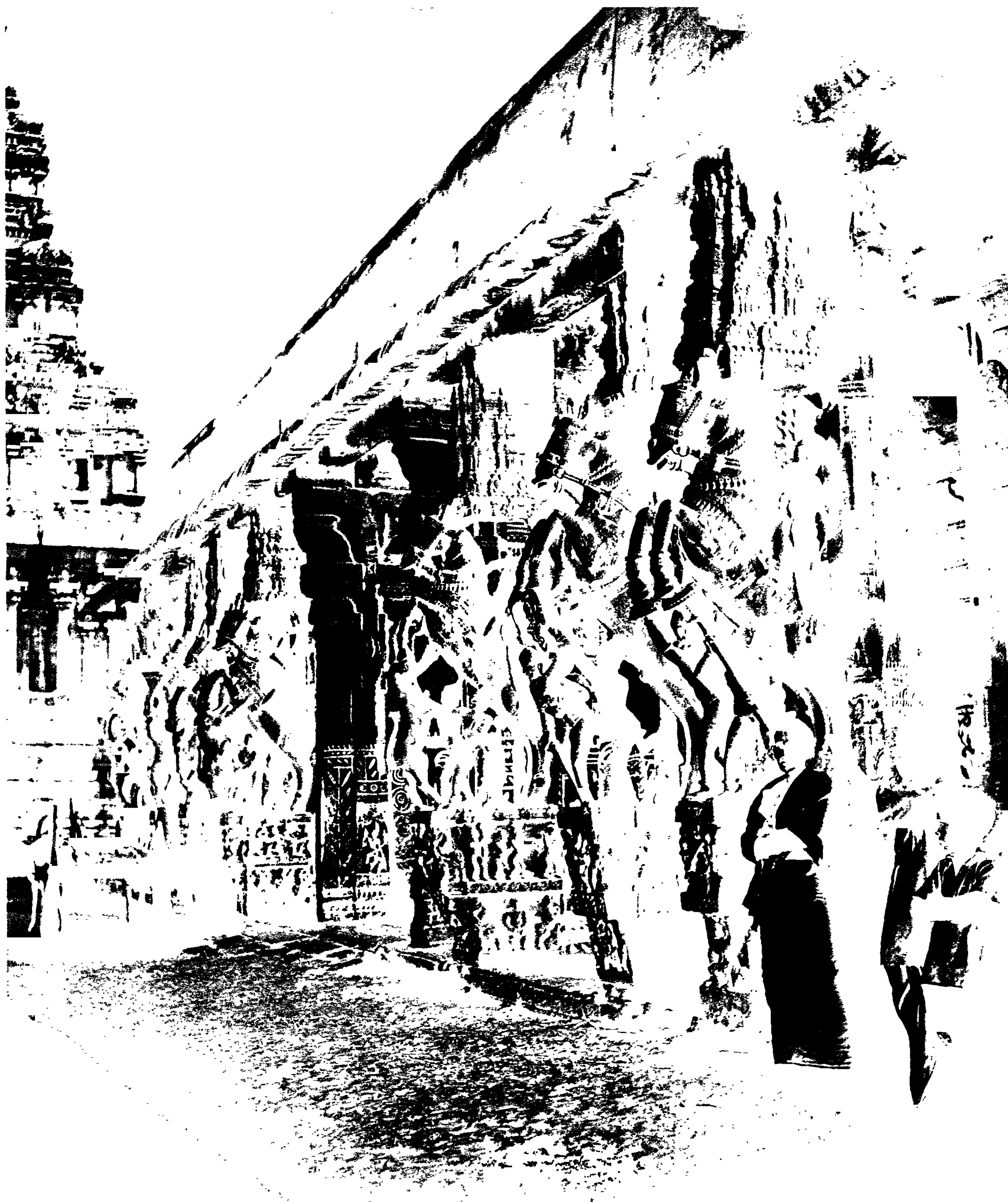
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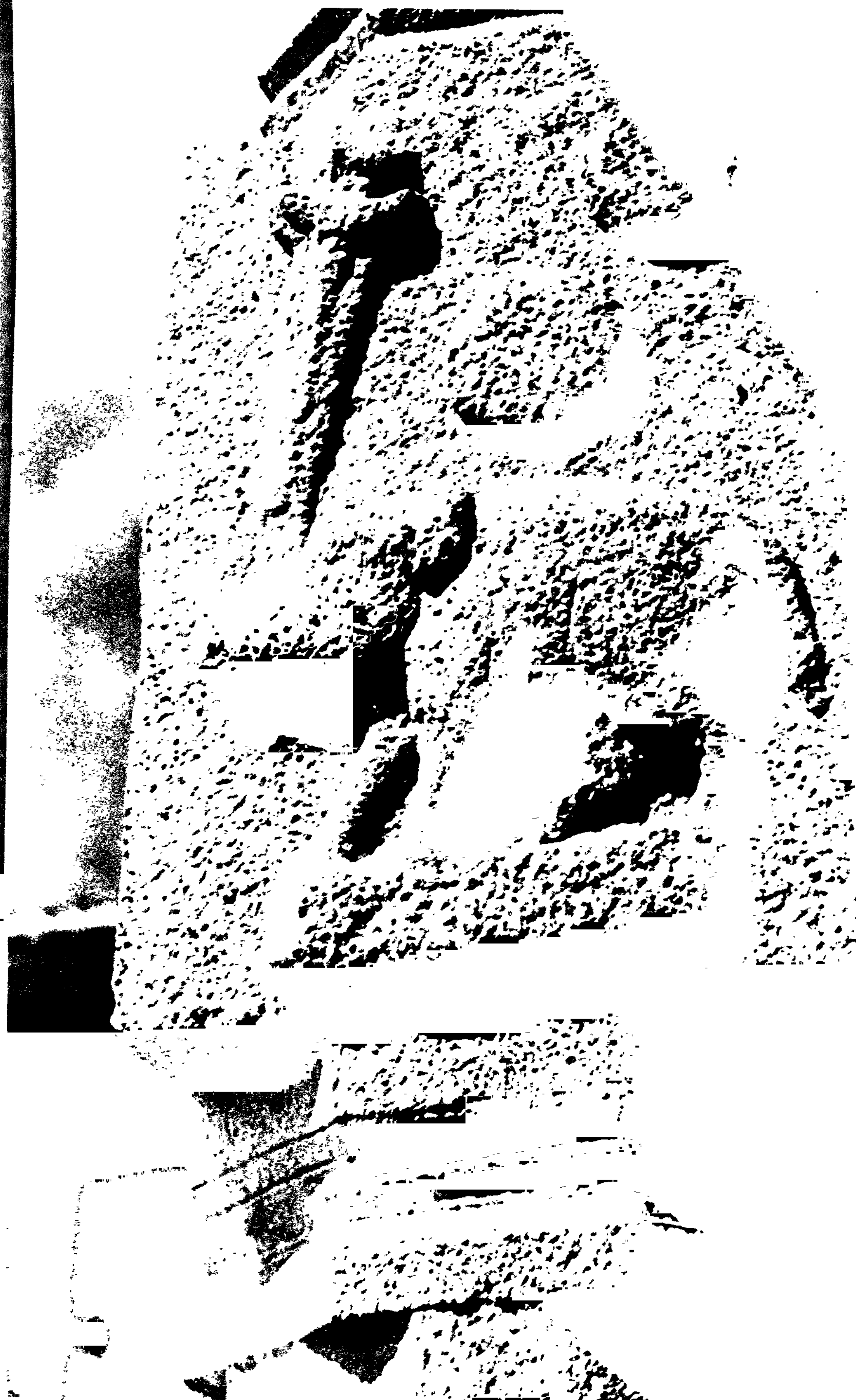




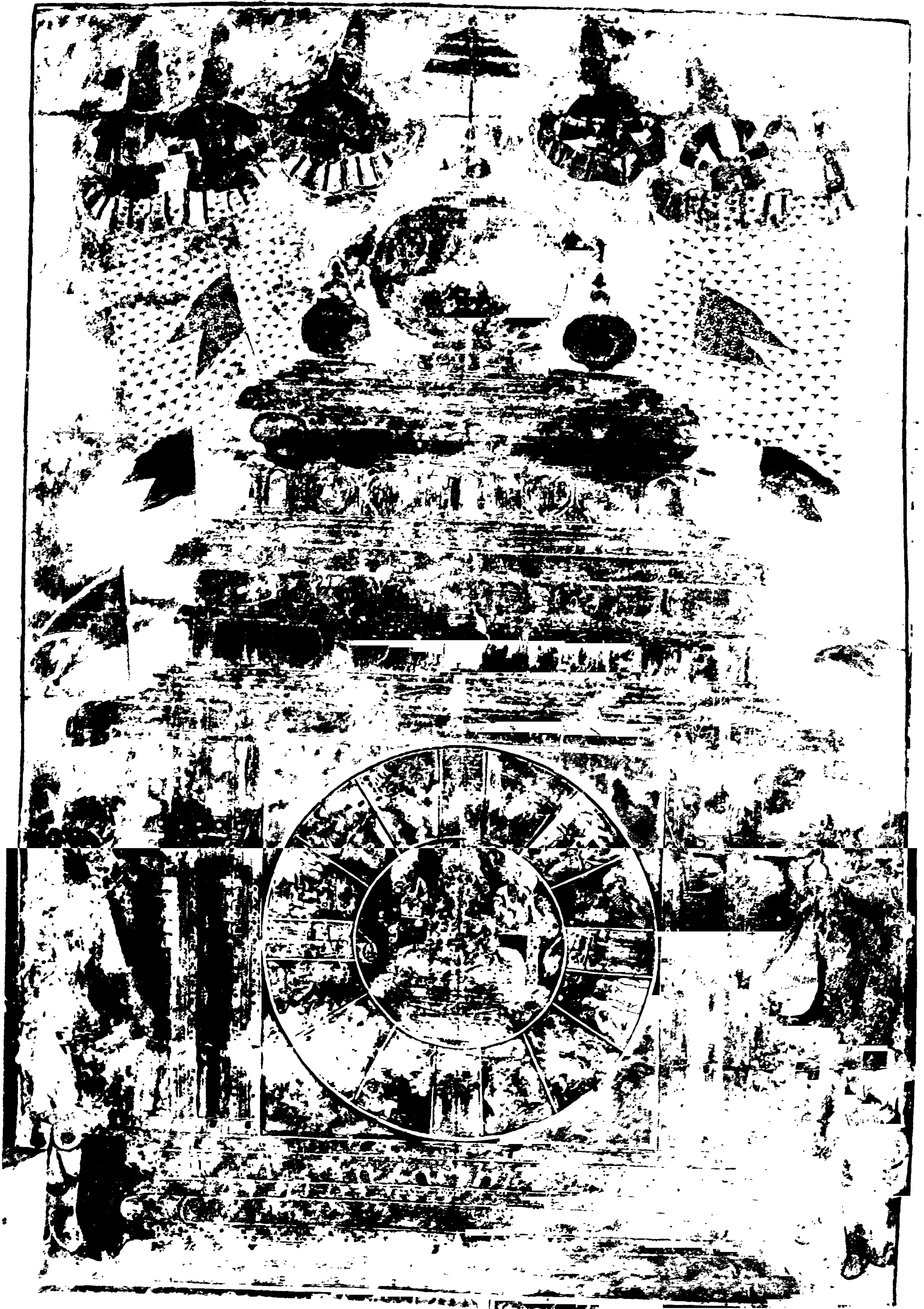


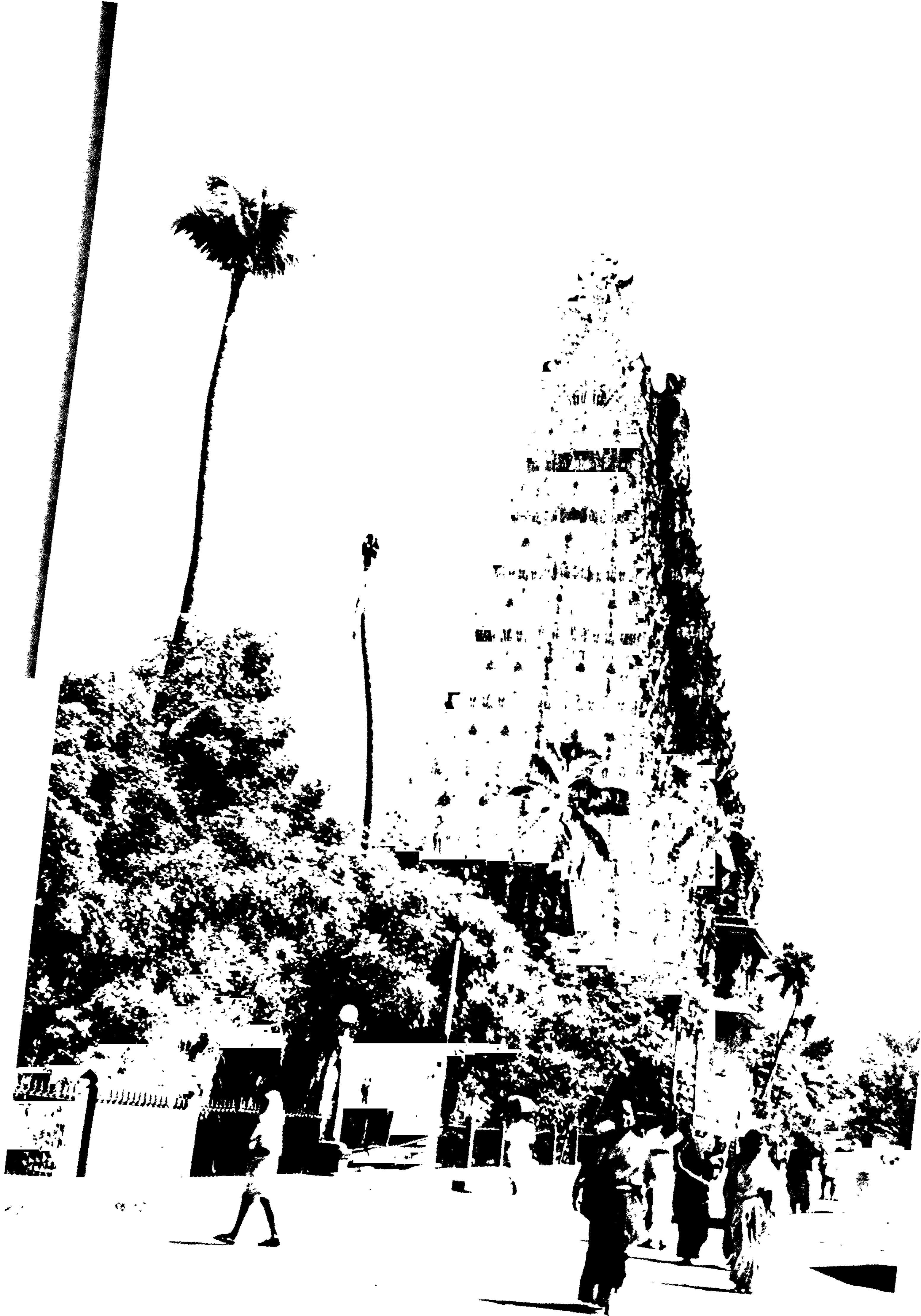
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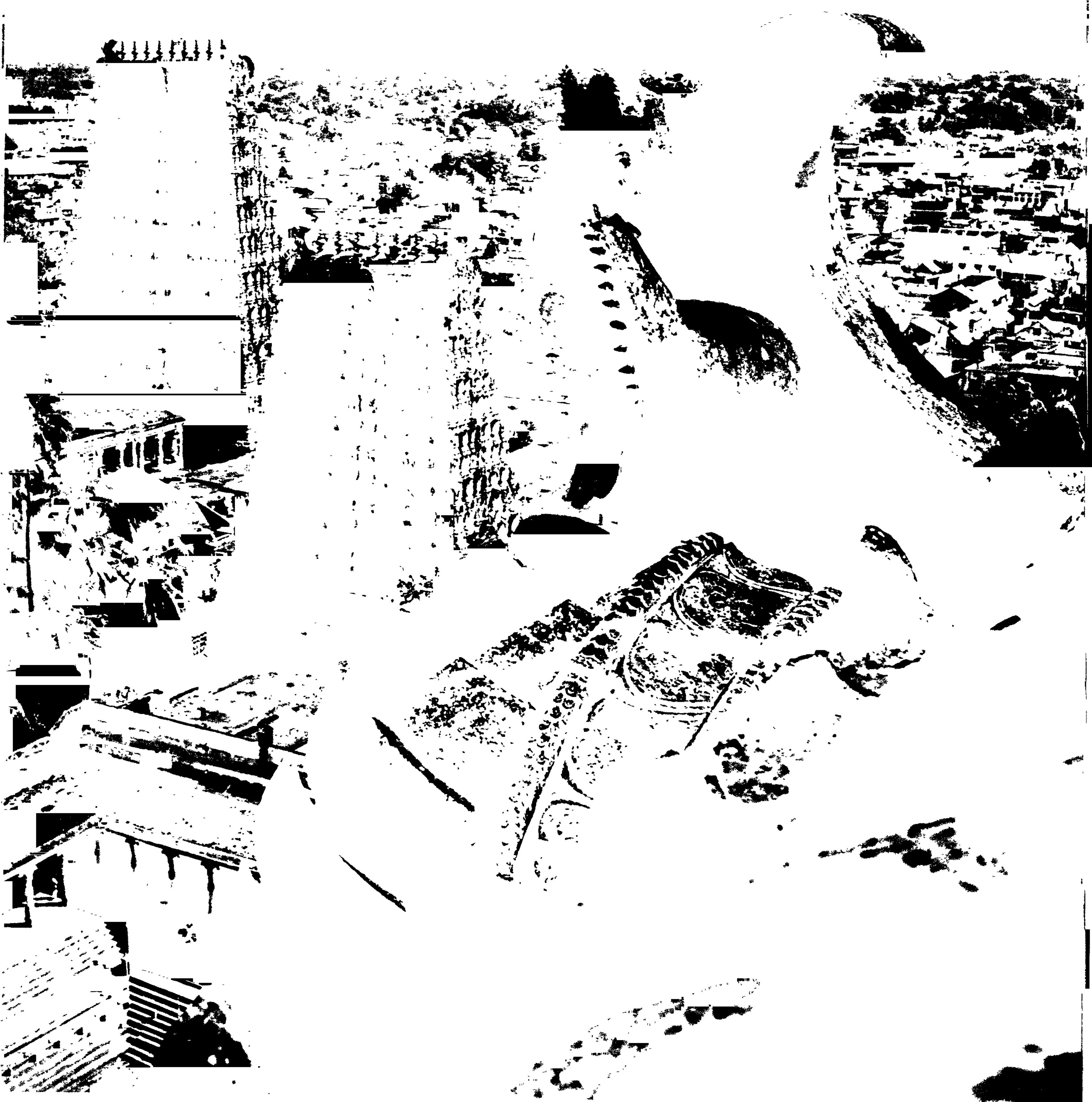




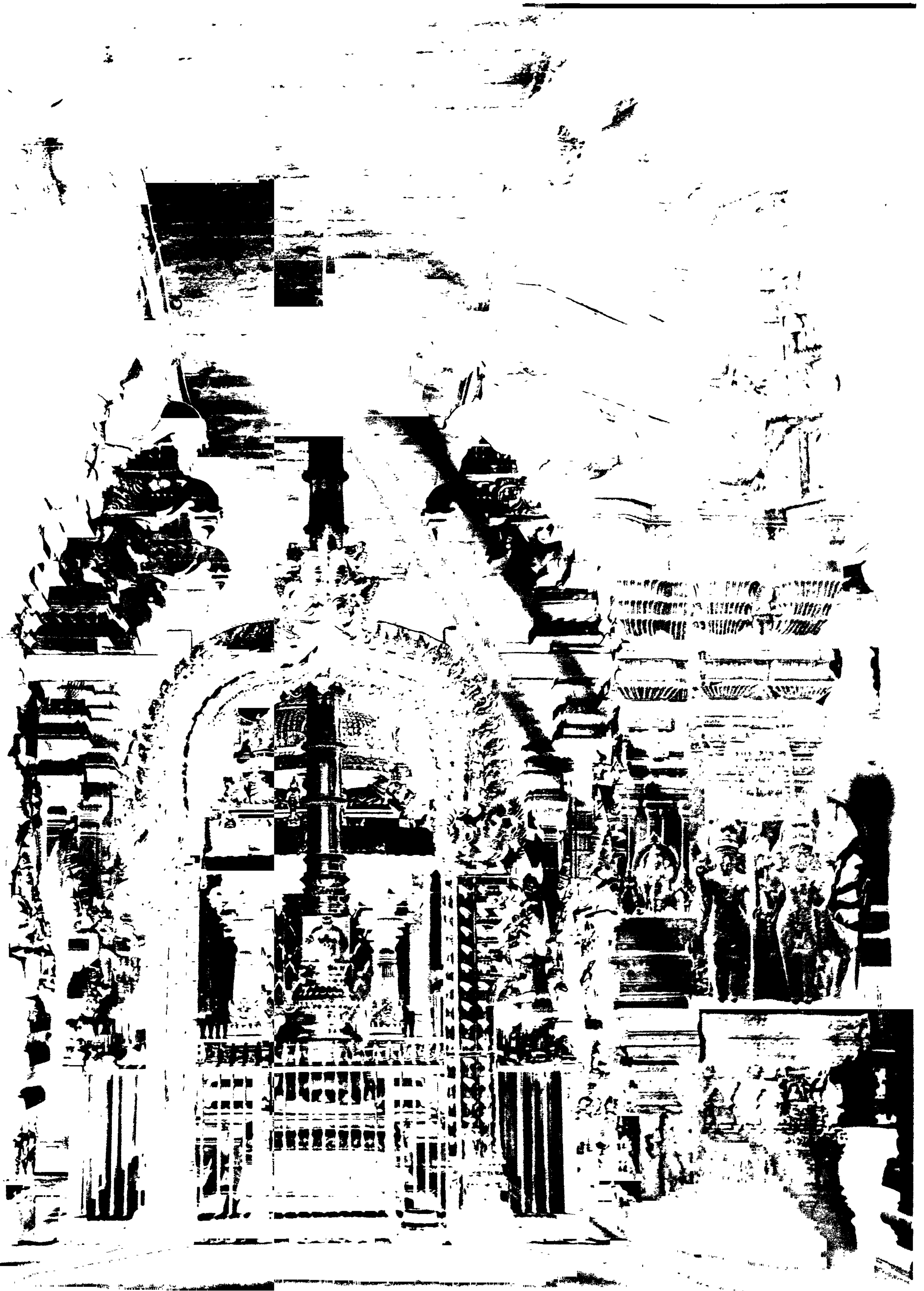
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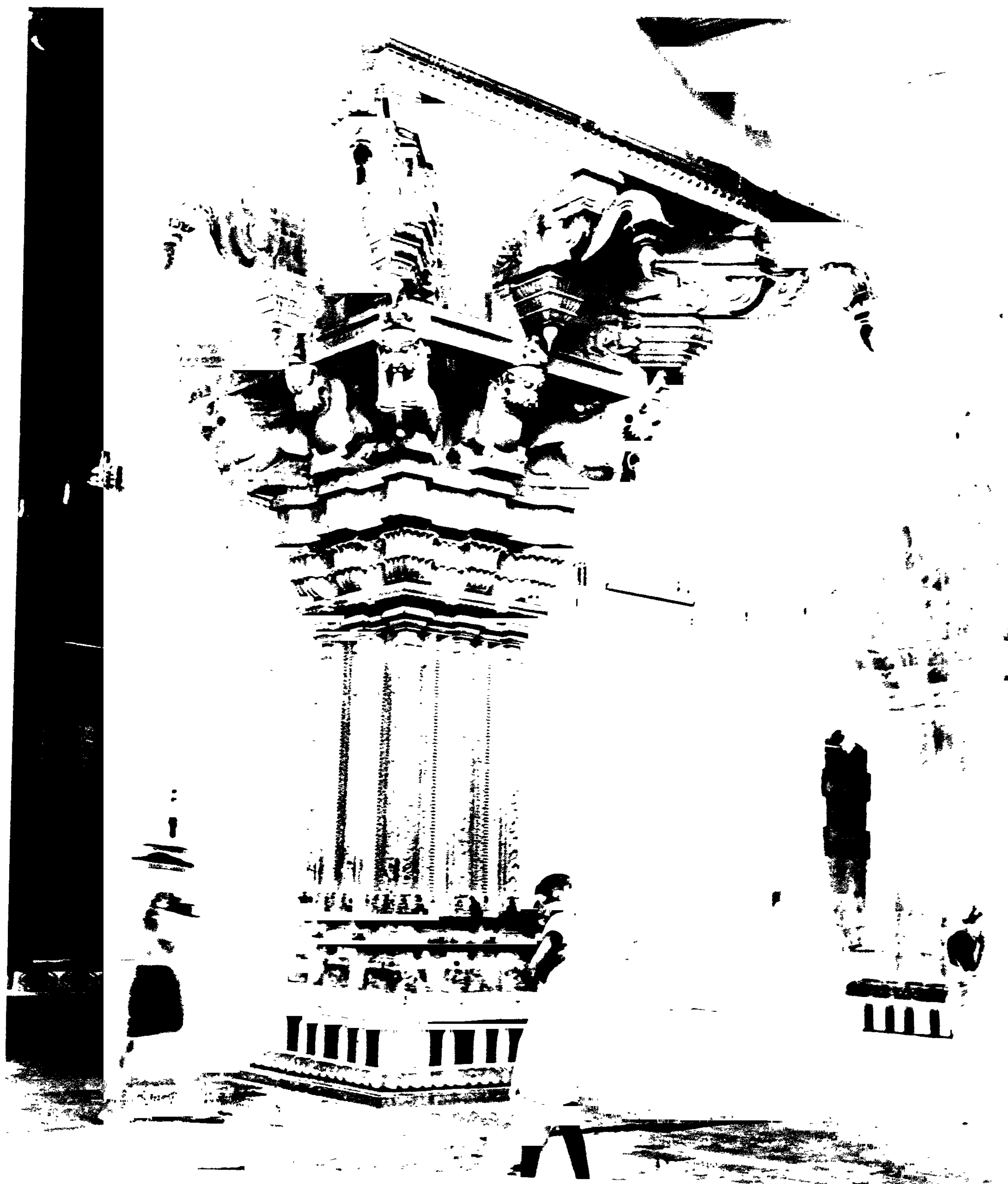




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II. INDO-ARYAN STYLES

A. Style of Orissa (8th-13th Centuries)

Indo-Aryan temple art, which is characterised by the presence of a *sikhara* on the cella, appeared under the Chalukya dynasty, and developed one of its most finished forms in the province of Orissa at Bhuvanesvar, Puri and finally at Konarak. These temples consist of a *sikhara* with curved lines which includes the cella in its base and has an attached *mandapa*, or porch, at the front face. Later, further porches were added to these temples. These were in the same axis and were intended to house various religious ceremonies such as offerings or dances: they are then known as *nata mandapa* or *bhogamandapa*. The *sikhara* always ends in a flat cushion, the *amalaka*, which is surmounted by a spire, or *kalasa*. These temples are very highly decorated on the outside, while the interior is quite undecorated.

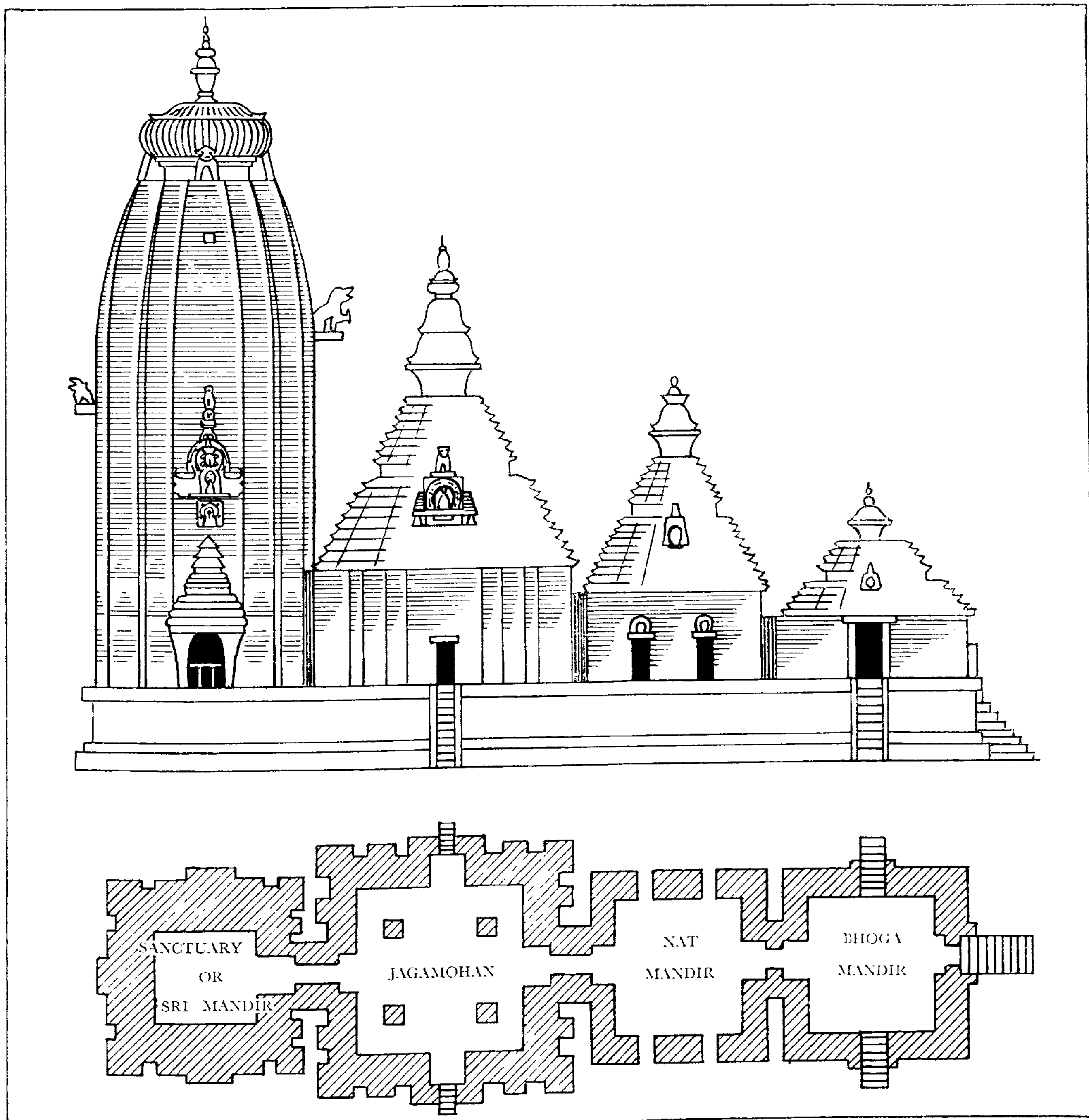


FIG. 33. SKETCH OF THE LAY-OUT OF A TEMPLE OF ORISSAN TYPE

258. GENERAL VIEW OF BHUVANESVAR. This place, once a capital city, contains more than 35 temples, of which the greater part are situated near a lake. The biggest temple, which can be seen in the centre of the photograph, is the Lingaraja whose *sikhara* reaches a height of 140 feet.

259. PARASURAMESVAR TEMPLE, BHUVANESVAR. This seems to be the oldest temple of the group and must date from the end of the 8th century. The temple, which is small, consists only of a *sikhara* and a *jagamohan* of the same width as the *sikhara* which has a rectangular ground plan. The roof of the *jagamohan* is corbelled, somewhat in the Chalukyan style. In the interior a number of pillars help to support the stone roof-slabs. It should be noted that only the early temples of this style have pillars which are, in any case, very rudimentary, while the later temples do not have them at all. Equally, the exterior of these temples shows no knowledge of certain architectural features, such as the pilaster. Here the *sikhara* springs directly from the ground and rises, vertically at first, to the height of the *jagamohan,* then curves progressively inwards to reach its summit. Four windows light the *jagamohan.* The whole is massive and inelegant. The walls and the *sikhara* are abundantly decorated. A small wall surrounds the temple which is about 50 feet long, the *sikhara* rising to 43 feet. The stones are placed one on the other without cement.

260. WINDOW, PARASURAMESVAR, BHUVANESVAR. These are perhaps the most delicate pieces of sculpture in this temple, a fact which suggests that they were added some time after the completion of the temple itself. They represent dancers and musicians. The attitudes are supple, even studied, with an astonishing grace and rhythm. Between the figures the stone is perforated here and there to allow the light to enter.

261. CARVING, PARASURAMESVAR, BHUVANESVAR. Rider astride a mythical animal leaping upon a kneeling elephant, a motif whose inspiration is more southern. The art of this temple benefited from various influences which were later to be unified into a completely evolved style.

262. VAITAL DEUL TEMPLE, BHUVANESVAR. This little sanctuary was probably erected after the Parasura mesvar. Its chief, and unique, characteristic is its *sikhara* which has a rectangular plan, terminating in a oblong vault which also seems to be of southern influence. However, the frontal projection in the form of a *kudu* has been retained. This derives directly from the northern type of temples at Pattadakal. The *jagamohan* is of the same type as that of the Parasuramesvar, with the addition here of little *sikharas* at the corners. This also is a very small temple, scarcely 26 feet by 20 feet, and 33 feet high. Its walls are not very decorated by comparison of those of the Parasuramesvara but they already show more unity in the arrangement of motifs and more skill in the treatment of the carving.

263. DECORATION OF THE SIKHARA, VAITAL DEUL, BHUVANESVAR. In the middle there is still what seems to be the rudiments of a niche, supported by two pilasters of which a *kudu* decorates the very top. The sculpture is more delicate than that which adorns the walls of the Parasuramesvar and shows an increasing tendency towards the representation of the beauty of the female body.

264. TEMPLE ENTRANCE, BHUVANESVAR. Small sanctuary, not dated, but probably of the same period as the two above. The lintel is worked with a certain regard for geometry. The central panel shows Siva and Parvati; to right and left, there are women at their toilet (the one on the left is looking in a mirror) and shrines. The lintel extends considerably beyond the supports and rests upon the stones of the wall. Two *dvarapalas* adorn the bosses of the uprights which are decorated with geometrical motifs, plants and birds.

265. UNIDENTIFIED TEMPLE, BHUVANESVAR. This provides a chronological and stylistic link between the preceding temples and that of Muktesvara. Its *jagamohan,* although separate from the sikhara which is already of considerable height, is built on a high base and possesses a pyramidal roof whose summit is adorned with a little *amalaka.* Secondary *sikharas* appear at the sides of the *sikhara,* giving the effect of shoulders, a characteristic which we shall see develop considerably in later temples. The projecting dragons on each face can be clearly seen. This temple has very little decoration.

266. MUKTESVARA TEMPLE, BHUVANESVAR. This can be dated to a few years before 1000 (975 ?). It has very nearly the same dimensions as the Parasuramesvar but shows a considerable advance in its architecture and sculpture. The multiple-stage, corbelled, pyramidal roof of the *jagamohan* was to become the rule. The *sikhara* has projecting faces and very rounded corners. The walls of the temple, which has a *torana* in front, are adorned with admirably executed sculptures. It also shows certain architectural innovations, such as the pilasters whose base is in the form of a pot of a unusual type, and the brackets of the sculptures. This temple is the only one which possesses some decoration in the interior.

267. DETAIL OF THE TORANA, MUKTESVARA, BHUVANESVAR. This *torana,* marvellously conceived although somewhat heavy in aspect, consists of a thick arch supported by two pillars with flat capi-

tals. Divergent *makaras* decorate the extremities of the arch which is adorned with exquisite figures of women and *kudus* transformed into medallions on which a head appears. The pillars are decorated with garlands of pearls which are characteristic of this style.

268. MUKTESVAR, BHUVANESVARA (DETAIL). It frequently amused Indian sculptors to execute a small, sculptured panel like this (about 8 inches square) of which we have already an example in the Ajanta caves (relief of the deer). It consists of an "economy of heads" in which only one head is carved for two or four bodies. Here the *tour de force* has succeeded: two complete bodies turn into four in the same attitude.

269. LINGARAJA TEMPLE BHUVANESVAR. About 1000 A.D. This temple, the ultimate development of the middle period of the Orissan style, already possesses colossal proportions. It occupies the centre of a vast rectangle enclosed by high walls, measuring roughly 500 feet by 410. The temple consists of a very high *sikhara*, more than 44 feet. Vertical projecting bands and a succession of miniature *sikharas*, also arranged vertically, seem to storm this tower which is crowned by a massive *amalaka*, supported by eight fantastic beasts. In front of the *sikhara* the pyramidal roof of the *jagamohan* rises to approximately half the height of the superstructure. This multiple-stage corbelled roof is crowned by a triple *amalaka* and its four sides are decorated with horizontal projections which support fantastic beasts. The interior of the *jagamohan*, whose width is slightly greater than its depth, is completely without decoration. Four great pillars alone help to support the heavy mass of the roof. The stones of the corbelling are left bare and form the vaults of these *jagamohans*. In contrast, the outer walls are covered in carvings. The female body is there presented with rounded fullness and rare skill. All around the main sanctuary a number of small temples have been erected by worshippers in later periods. They are almost all inferior replicas of the great Sri Mandir.

270. MOTHER AND CHILD, BHUVANESVAR, 1100. This charming group in sand- stone, probably from the Lingaraja, is a good illustration of the style, at once simple and graceful, of Orissan artists at the end of the 11th century. The features are fine, the expression smiling. The female figure is opulently portrayed. A long nose distinguishes these women from those of other styles. The child possesses the same characteristics. It is true that in the art of every country children are most often shown with adult heads. This representation of motherhood in its gentleness of gesture is fit to take its place beside the most beautiful portrayals of motherhood in Western art. *India Museum, Calcutta.*

271. FEMALE STATUE, KONARAK. The Sun Temple at Konarak, built in the reign of Narasimhadeva (1238-1264) marked the peak of Orissan architectural art. Conceived in gigantic proportions it was probably never finished. It was designed in the shape of a temple car. The base was adorned with twelve wheels, each 10 feet in diameter. In front of the temple a great staircase has seven horses carved on its sides, destined to draw this car, dedicated to Surya, the god of the sun. The *jagamohan* was 100 feet long; the *sikhara* attained 215 feet. Almost completely fallen into ruin, it still retains great numbers of carvings which can rank among the world's greatest works of art. This statue, full of grace and sensual delight is a striking example of their quality.

272. TEMPLE HORSE, KONARAK. The sculptures of Konarak are generally very eroded. The stone in which they were carved, a ferruginous sandstone, and their proxmimity to the sea, are responsible for this. *Photograph: Dept. of Archaeology, Government of India.*

273. MALE HEAD, KONARAK. This is probably a portrait of a noble warrior. Note the treatment of the beard. This piece is similar in the expression of the eyes to Roman sculpture. *Photograph: Dept. of Archaeology, Government of India.*

274. MAYURBHANJ, ORISSA. Polished sandstone. This *nagini*, with her enchanting smile and her opulent figure, is remarkable for delicacy of workmanship and elegance.

B. The Art of the Chandellas (10th-11th Centuries)

The temples of Khajuraho, capital of the Chandellas, are many in number and represent one of the most brilliant periods in Indian architecture. They were almost all erected within one hundred years (950–1050). They are in sandstone and the Chandella employed cement and iron tenons extensively. This is perhaps the reason why their temples are still in a perfect state of preservation. Although close to those of Orissa, they differ profoundly from them and constitute a self-contained and entirely new style. They are built on a high platform and have no enclosing

wall. As with the sanctuaries of Orissa the cella is surmounted by a *sikhara* situated on the same axis, generally with a west-east orientation, are the *antarala*, the *mandapa* and the covered porch, or *ardhamandapa*. The cella includes a circumambulatory decorated with sculptures. These components are raised upon a high, decorated base above which columned balconies support the first elements of the roof. Very small miniature buildings flank the roofs of the *mandapa* and the *sikhara*. Starting from the porch the roofs rise progressively to the *sikhara*. Subsidiary *sikharas*, built against the main *sikhara* and rising in stages, increase the lofty and slender effect of the whole. Some temples have five sanctuaries of which the four minor ones are set at the corners of the platform. By contrast with those of Orissa the interiors of the temples are highly decorated. The cella includes a richly sculptured entrance. One enters the temple at the east end after climbing the steps which lead to the *ardhamandapa*. This consists of an arch supported by pillars and covered by roofs. From there one passes into the first *mandapa* whose roof is supported on four columns. From each side of this *mandapa* open transepts which give access to balconies. Between the cella and the *mandapa* is a constricted passage, or *antarala*. which leads to the slightly elevated doorway of the sanctuary and to the circumambulatory. Three openings, set in balconies, light the passage around the cella. The decoration is generally arranged in parallel bands which follow the insets and projections of the walls. This decoration, which is extremely rich, consists, in addition to the figures of the usual gods, of sculptures representing *apsarasas*, couples, *nagas*, fantastic animals, etc. The column brackets are often decorated as in certain caves of Ajanta and Ellora with crouching dwarfs. On the walls of these temples, as on those of Orissa, large numbers of erotic sculptures are to be seen. These representations are of a powerful religious significance; they are the symbol of the various unions of the soul with the divinity, as varied as the unions of the flesh. The Indians feel no shame in the face of realistic descriptions of human activities and, since religion is as essential to them as breathing, every act has a philosophical or religious significance. Procreation is a most important act. The Indians therefore attach to it many religious meanings, whether esoteric or, more simply, ritual.

Tradition claims that during the reign of the Chandellas eighty-five temples were erected. Today about twenty-five remain, divided into three groups according to their locations or their dedication to Brahmanism or to Jainsism.

275. THE MOST ANCIENT MONUMENT OF KHAJURAHO seems to be that which is called Chaunsath Yogini. Although it is called a temple it is by no means certain that it ever was one. It consists of a very high granite platform set around with staircases. Around it are arranged 65 small cells, set side by side and facing inwards. Each cell, crowned by an embryonic *sikhara*, has a wooden door. Was a temple erected in the middle of this enclosure as Cunningham claims? The monument is called Chaunsath Yogini because the number 64 corresponds to the number of Kali's female servants of whom three statues were found on the site, which is somewhat scanty evidence. This platform could have been a meeting place where the king held court or where on feast days the people gathered to celebrate. The number of cells is perhaps fortuitous. In the middle of the south-western series lies a larger cell; perhaps it was before this that the king (or the priest who directed the ceremony) took up his position. There is nothing by which we can date this structure precisely, but it is clear that it is earlier than the other temples, perhaps even much older than has been generally thought.

276. VISVANATHA TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. This measures 89 feet by 43 feet and includes two *mandapas* between the porch and the cella. Its architecture, comparable with that of the other temples of Khajuraho, is decorated with consummate skill and recalls a mountain with its scattered rocks. It is built on a terrace. The entrance faces another small temple, set on the same platform and dedicated to Nandin, the Visvanatha being dedicated to Siva. It was probably built by the king Dhanga in the last years of his reign, about 1000.

277. CELLA DOORWAY, VISVANATHA. KHAJURAHO. In the middle of the lintel, supported by a dwarf, sits Siva, whose linga, of polished stone, is installed in the centre of the cella. To right and left are different deities, separated by colonnettes. The uprights of the door are decorated with pairs of figures. Below are various apsarases. The frieze of the step shows the gods Ganesa and Visnu and couples in erotic postures. The whole is rich but the proliferation of sculptures shows no sign of confusion, each motif having its set place in an architecturally determined frame.

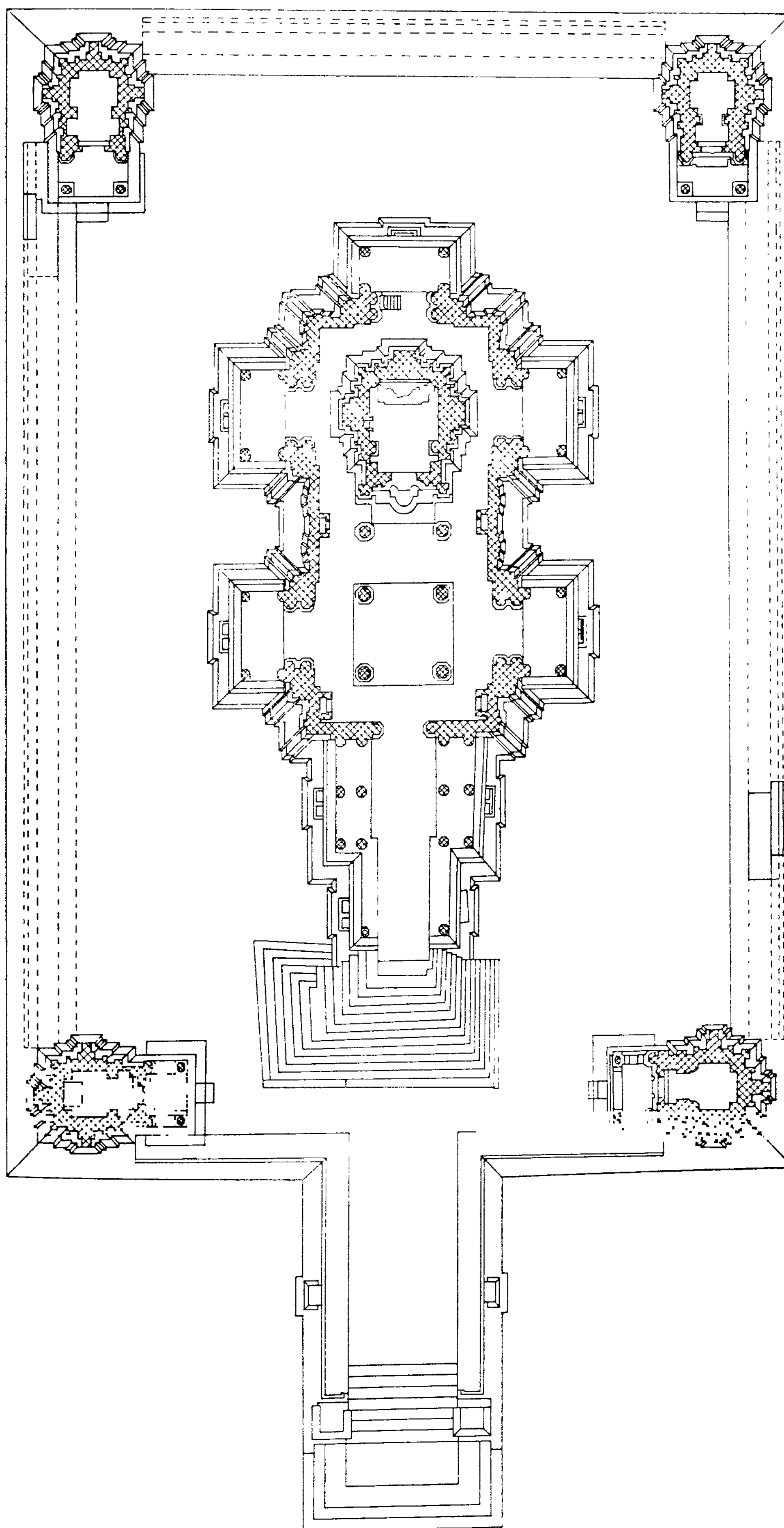


FIG. 34. PLAN OF THE LAKSHMANA TEMPLE AT KHAJURAHO, SHOWING THE SUBSIDIARY TEMPLES AT THE CORNERS OF THE PLATFORM

278. CIRCUMAMBULATORY, VISVANATHA, KHAJURAHO. The walls of the circumambulatory are here lit by a balcony window. The light accentuates the relief of the carvings and heightens their effect. Numerous *apsarases* stand out from the wall in different postures. Left foreground: the base of one of the columns of the *mahamandapa*. On the extreme left the entrance to the cella can be seen.

279. APSARA, VISVANATHA, KHAJURAHO. This close-up shows one of the *apsarases* which decorate the circumambulatory. Most of them have been broken but despite their mutilation they have preserved an unequalled grace which bears witness to the surprising skill of the sculptor. The twist of the back of these heavenly beauties, who seem to wish to hide their faces in shame, lends them a remarkable seductiveness. Only the lower limbs have been somewhat neglected but this is a characteristic common to all the sculptures of this period.

280. TEMPLE OF PARVATI, KHAJURAHO. This temple, of which the porch has been destroyed, is situated to the south-west of the Visvanatha. It is an example of a temple in very simple form.

281. LAKSHMANA TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. This temple, dedicated to Visnu, is of the same size and plan as the Visvanatha, but it includes in addition a small subsidiary temple at each corner of its platform. It was probably constructed by king Yasovarman as we are led to believe by an inscription dating from the reign of the king Dhanga (end of the 10th century). Round the temple platform are friezes depicting scenes of war and elephants.

282. LAKSHMANA, KHAJURAHO. View of the temple and its staircase.

283. APSARA WITH LETTER, LAKSHMANA TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. This delightful statue of a woman holding a letter in her hand is typical of the Chandella style. Her voluptuous figure and her expressionless face, her jewellery and her drapery are simply indicated by incised lines.

284. APSARA, ADINATHA TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. This temple lies near the village in a group of Jaina temples. Although one of the smallest, its decoration and its *surasundaris* are among the most noteworthy in their superb rhythm and elegance, typical of the style of this temple as of the nearby Parsvanatha.

285. FANTASTIC BEAST, MAHADEVA TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. This is a small, ruined temple. Under the porch, which alone is intact, can be seen a fantastic beast attacking a woman. This theme, very frequent in the temples of the Khajuraho group and showing a fantastic beast, perhaps a lion, bringing down or being brought down by an armed woman, must have had some mythical significance which has now been forgotten.

286. OUTER WALL, KHANDARIA MAHADEVA, KHAJURAHO. The Khandaria is the greatest of the Khajuraho temples. It is 100 feet in length and the same in height. It was originally a temple, like the Lakshmana, with four subsidiary sanctuaries. The temple platform is not rectangular but follows the outline of the building. Between its balconies the walls are decorated with three rows of figures, *apsarases*, *sundaradevi* and pairs of figures in erotic scenes. Each of the figures which decorate this temple was executed with special care, and each is a work of art. The scenes with several participants are master pieces of composition. The Khandaria dates from the beginning of the 11th century and was probably erected by the king Vidyadhara.

287. PILLAR, GHANTAI TEMPLE, KHAJURAHO. A Jaina temple. The name derives from the ornamentation of its pillars: *ghantai* means bell. Only the pillars of the portico are still standing. These have curious projections which may have served to carry lamps.

288. GROUP, KHAJURAHO. Allahabad Museum. This group was probably located in the middle of the lintel of a cella doorway, but which one is unknown. It is a very fine composition, representing Visnu and Laksmi. Various figures surround the pair. An elephant and a lion are between Visnu's feet.

289. NAGA AND NAGINI, CENTRAL INDIA (about 10th century). The principal interest of this piece lies in the succession of reef-knots formed by the interlaced, serpentine bodies of the *nagas*. At the bottom of this motif can be seen a mutilated figure which represents a worshipper.

C. Styles of Gwalior

The temples located within the defences of the Gwalior fort, although very few in number, constitute two markedly different styles. The oldest, which may date from the 9th century, shows many affinities with the Vaital Deul of Bhuvanesvara. The two others, differing only in their dimensions are mandapas, built as temples. They have no *sikhara* and date from the end of the 11th century. Gwalior fort, which played an important role in the wars between the Muslims and Hindus, and then between the British and the troops of Tantia Topi and Rani Lakshmi Bhai in 1857, was, according to tradition, erected by a minor tribal chief, named Suraj Pal, probably towards the 7th century.

290. TELI-KA-MANDIR, GWALIOR. What remains of this temple, unhappily rebuilt without any regard for archaeological or even architectural truth, shows influences both of Chalukyan and Orissan origin. Although the general form of the *sikhara* resembles that of the Vaital Deul at Bhuvanesvara (plate 262) and copies of *sikharas* in Orissan style can still be clearly seen above some doors and niches, there are elements which are peculiar to the Chalukyas, such as the honey-comb *kudu* motifs above the side doors and the summit arches which resemble those adorning the Visvakarma cave at Ellora. The sculpture and decoration of the uprights of the doors is clearly post-Gupta. The building of this temple can thus be dated to between the 8th and 9th centuries.

291. TELI-KA-MANDIR, GWALIOR. Bas-relief of a door upright. It shows a goddess, perhaps Ganga. Geese can be seen in the floral decoration.

292. GREAT SAS BAHU, GWALIOR. This is an enormous three-storied *mandapa* dedicated to Visnu. The structure to be seen on the right may be the remains of a *sikhara*. It is 100 feet by 60 feet, and according to an inscription it was built, or at least completed, by Mahipala in 1093.

293. GREAT SAS BAHU, GWALOIR (DETAIL). Floral decoration of temple entrance.

294. LITTLE SAS BAHU, GWALIOR. The little Sas Bahu, of the same type as the Great and built at the same time, resembles a Khajuraho *ardhamandapa*. It is built on a high plinth, is of very modest dimensions and has only one story. It seems never to have had a *sikhara*, a fact which leads one to doubt whether its big brother ever had one either.

295. DETAIL OF THE PORCH, LITTLE SAS BAHU, GWALIOR. It consists of two columns whose bases are decorated with dancing figures. The architrave is supported by brackets with dwarfs. These, like the panel decorations, are in the same style as those of Khajuraho.

296. TEMPLE OF MAHAKALESVAR, UJJAIN. Ujjain, one of the seven holy cities of Siva, has several temples of Indo-Arayn type with the *sikhara* flanked by successive "shoulders". These temples were probably erected about the 12th century, but underwent a number of later modifications which renders their dating only approximate. A dome of the Mongol type from Gujarat, which serves as a roof for the temple *mandapa*, can be seen between the *sikharas*.

The style of this temple prefigures that of the Jaina temple cities (see plate 301).

D. Art of Rajasthan and of the Jaina Cities

Parallel to developments in Gwalior and Khajuraho we find temples of a related style in the west and in Kathiawar, of which the most remarkable examples were built by the adepts of Jainism in their temple cities. This style, usually highly ornate, began about the 10th century. Temples of the same type are built to this day in accordance with the same plan.

297. GENERAL VIEW, GIRNAR. A city of Jaina temples was built in the 12th century 650 feet below Mount Girnar in Saurashtra. The biggest temple, that of Neminatha, after the name of the twenty-second *tirthankara*, which can be seen at the top of the photograph, stands in the centre of a great quadrilateral, 197 feet by 128 feet. It is surrounded by galleries and small sanctuaries, numbering 70 in all. The temple itself has a *sikhara* of Khajuraho type with multiple subsidiary *sikharas* on its flanks. It also has a great *mandapa* and a porch. The city enclosure contains twenty or so temples. *Photograph: Denis Brihat.*

298. VIMALASHAH TEMPLE, MOUNT ABU. This is the oldest and the most beautiful, if not the largest, of the Mount Abu temples. It was erected in 1031 by Vimala, local governor under king Bhimadeva. The portico is worth noting. The dome of the temple is supported by 48 pillars. Eight of these

form an octagon in the centre and support the principal dome. The whole building is in white marble. The arches, which link the columns in pairs and spring from brackets, are typical of this architecture. Heavily undercut, a characteristic of the art of Gujarat, they were subsequently imitated in styles which derived from this school and spread far beyond their place of origin. The columns, which are divided into horizontal bands, are decorated with figures and with single and repeating designs. *Photograph: Denis Brihat.*

299. VIMALASHAH, MOUNT ABU. The ceilings of this temple are highly decorated with circular motifs divided into segments by figures arranged like the spokes of a wheel. At the centre of the dome, a worked pendentive links all the figures. *Photograph: Denis Brihat.*

300. VIMALASHAH, MOUNT ABU. The flat ceilings usually consist of a single block of carved marble. This one shows Narasimha eviscerating Hyranya-Kasipu. The composition of this haut-relief is striking. Various scenes frame the central motif. *Photograph: Denis Brihat.*

301. CITY OF SATRUNYAYA, PALITANA. This is the most sacred of the Jaina temple cities. It contains nearly 900 temples, most of which date from the 16th century. The temples, built originally in the 11th century, were completely destroyed in the Muslim invasions. Their style, however, remained the same and they resemble one another closely. *Photograph: Denis Brihat.*

302. MAHAKALESVAR TEMPLE, UJJAIN. Several different temples, dedicated to Siva, and in the same style, stand in a single group. The *sikhara* shown here, built in the 12th century, but reconstructed in the 13th and again in the 18th centuries, shows clearly the western style. The outsides of these temples have little decoration. Only the interiors have a decoration which varies in richness according to the temple.

303. BALCONY, HATHI-SINGH, AHMEDABAD. The balconies which are one of the features of Jaina temples, include highly worked screens and roofs supported by figures or by brackets which probably come from a Jaina temple. Here the motifs are Indo-Muslim, the temple having been erected during the Indo-Muslim period.

304. STATUE OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN, BOMBAY MUSEUM. West of India, about 9th century, showing Parvati (?) seated.

305. HEAD, MEDIEVAL PERIOD, RAJASTHAN. 11th century (?). The head of a woman in black polished sandstone, probably from a Jaina temple. The very careful workmanship is that of an art frozen into a charmless, soulless formalism. It is the work of a perfect craftsman, not of an artist. Unknown origin. *National Museum, Delhi.*

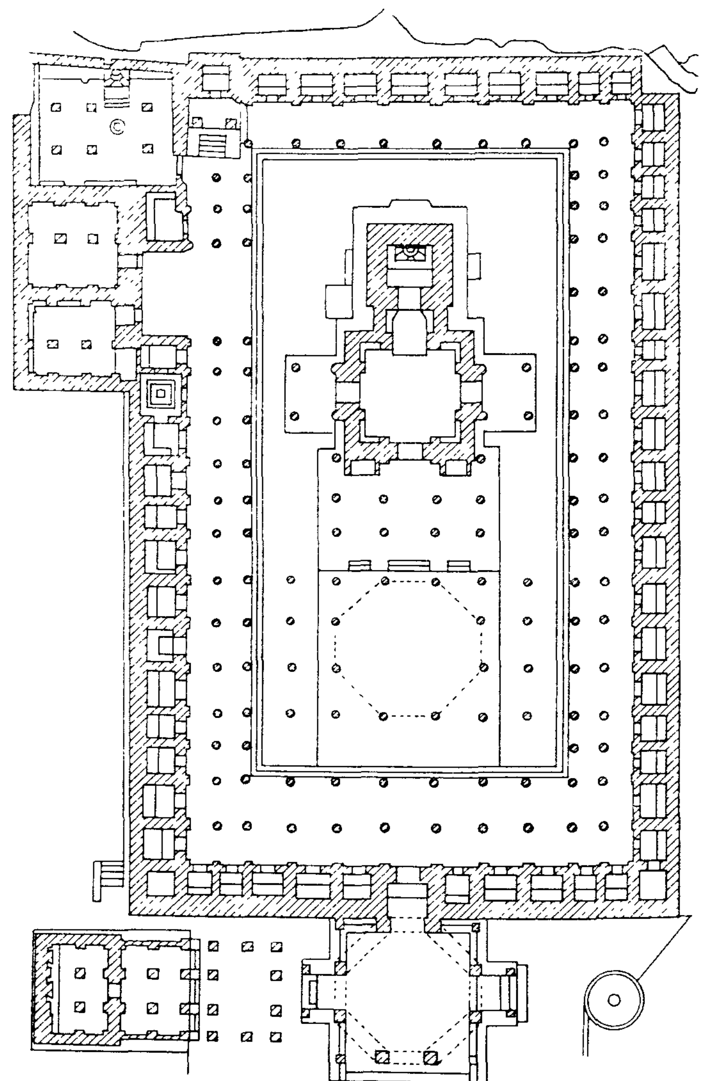


FIG. 35. PLAN OF THE VIMALASHAH TEMPLE, MOUNT ABU

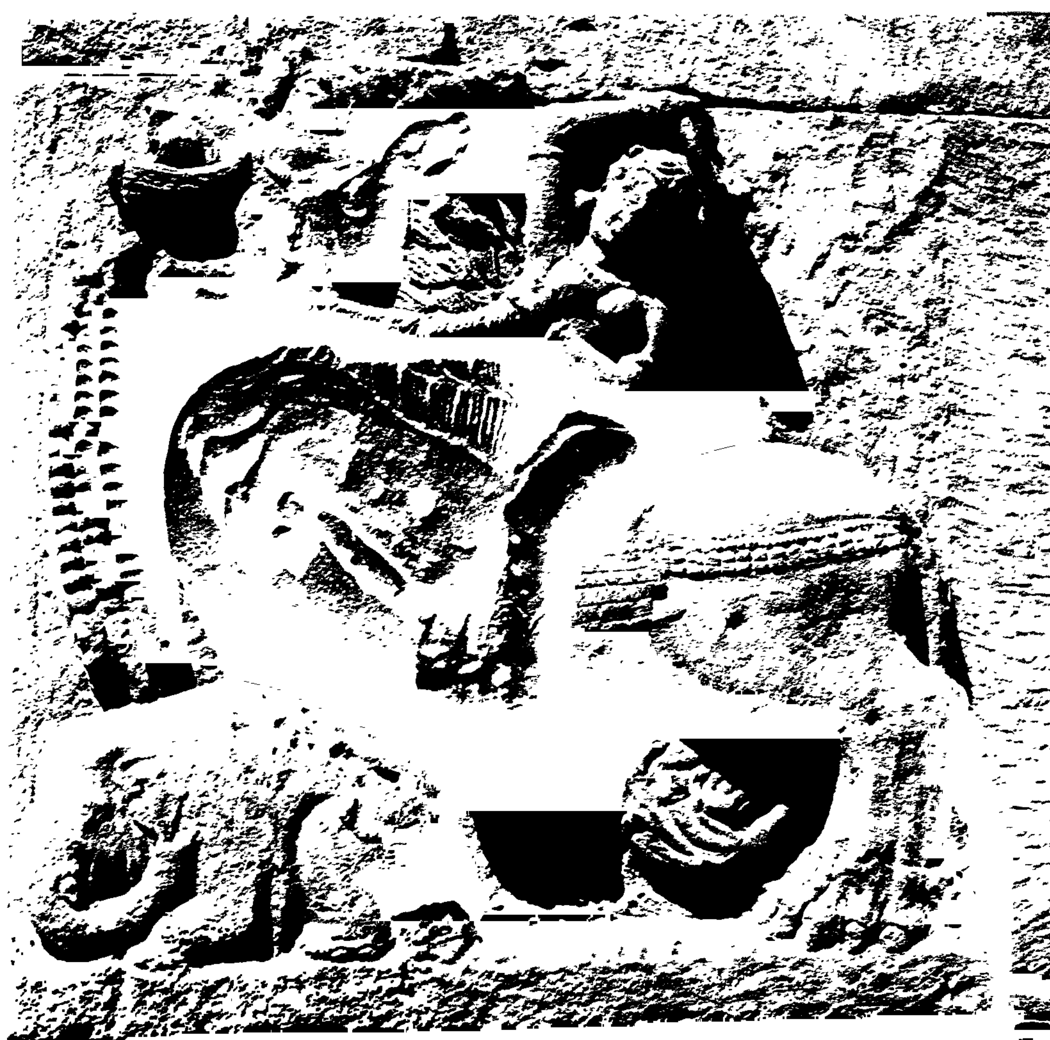
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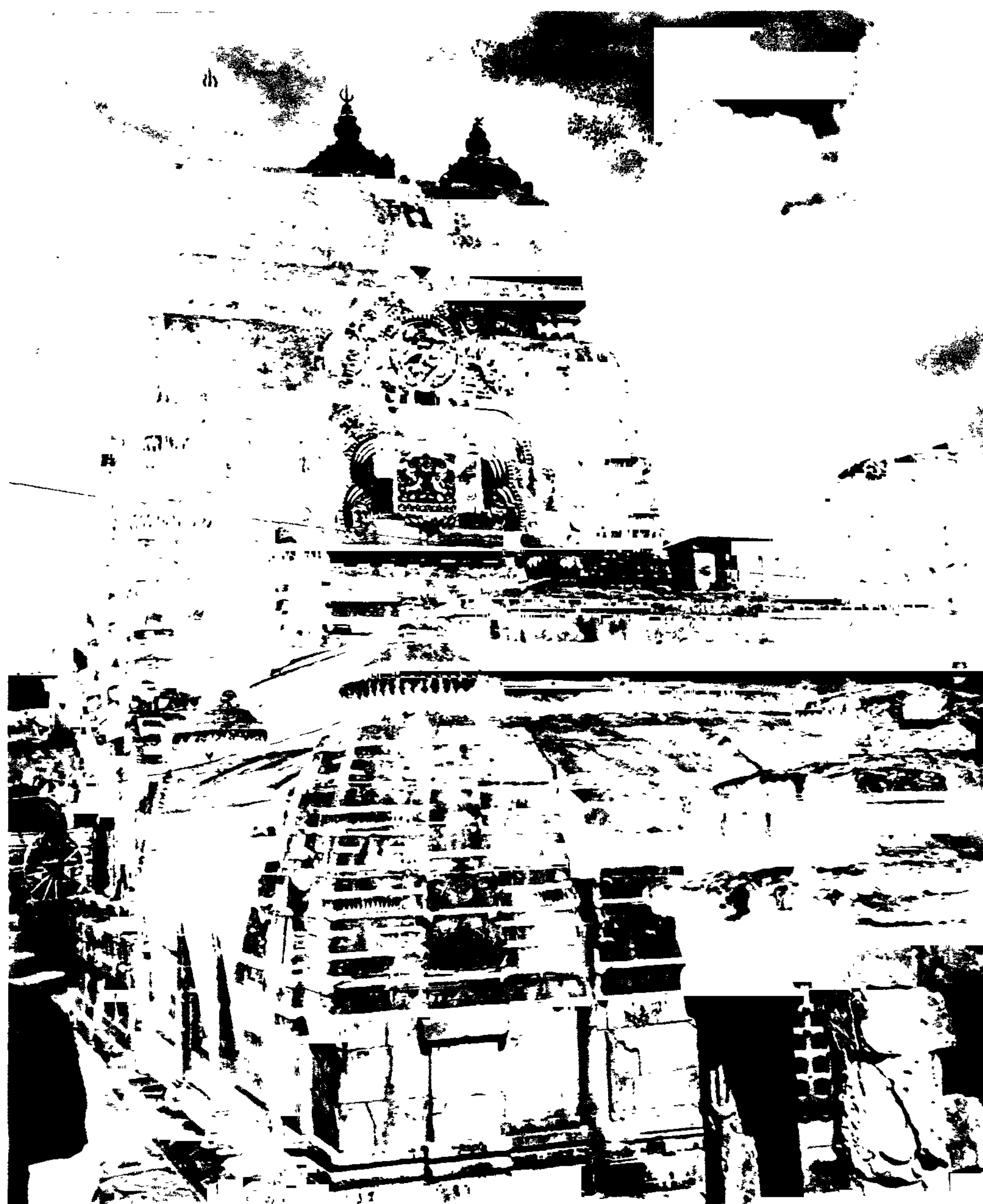
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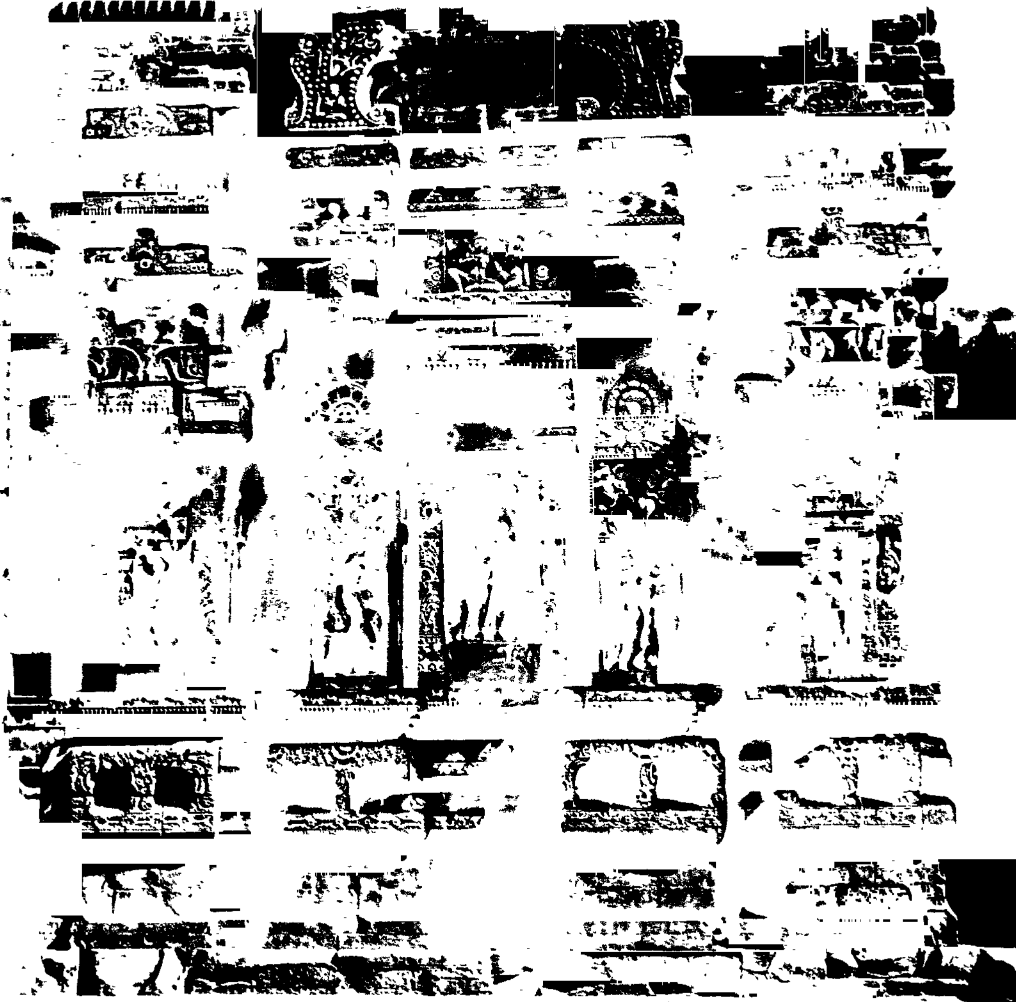
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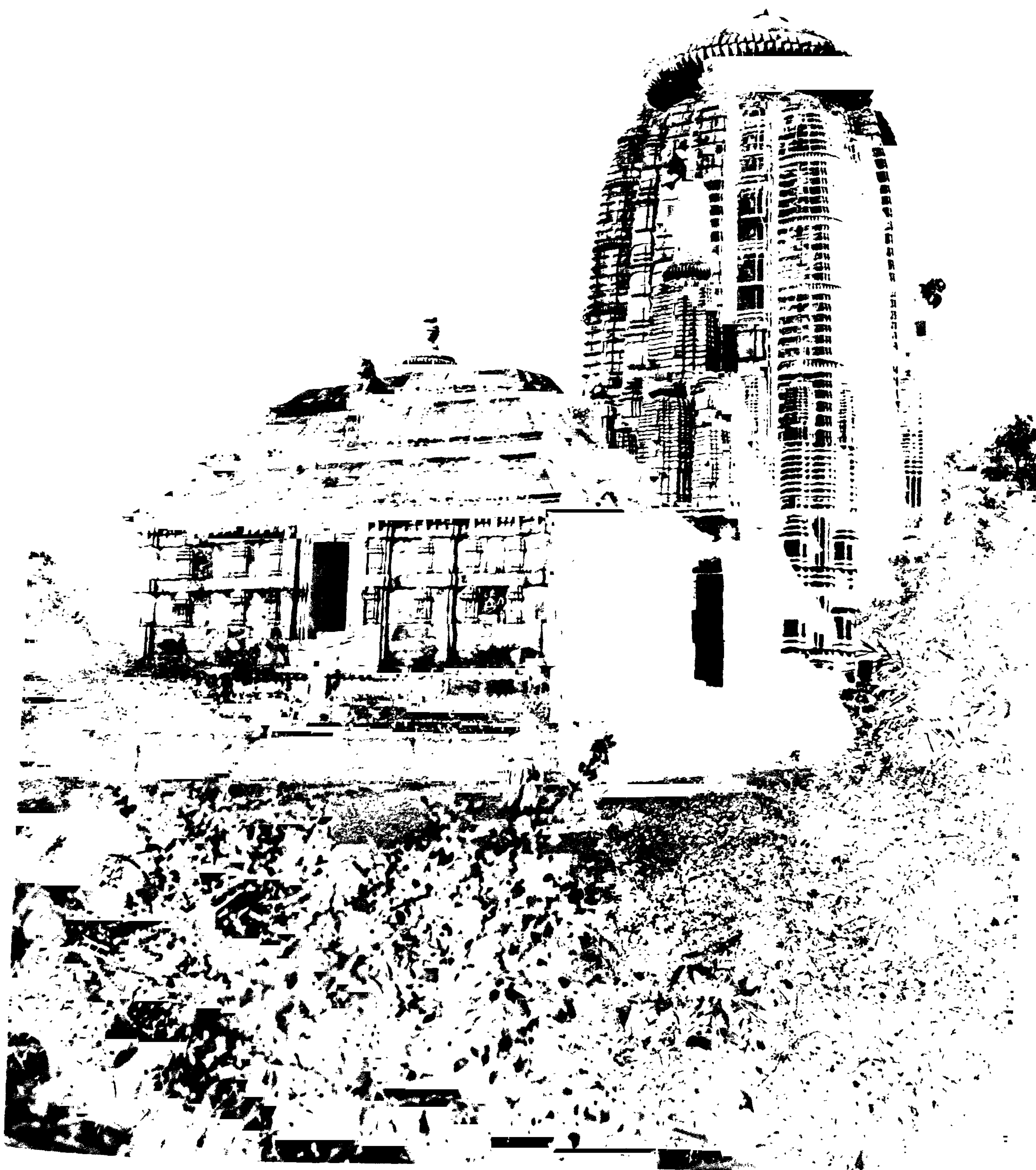
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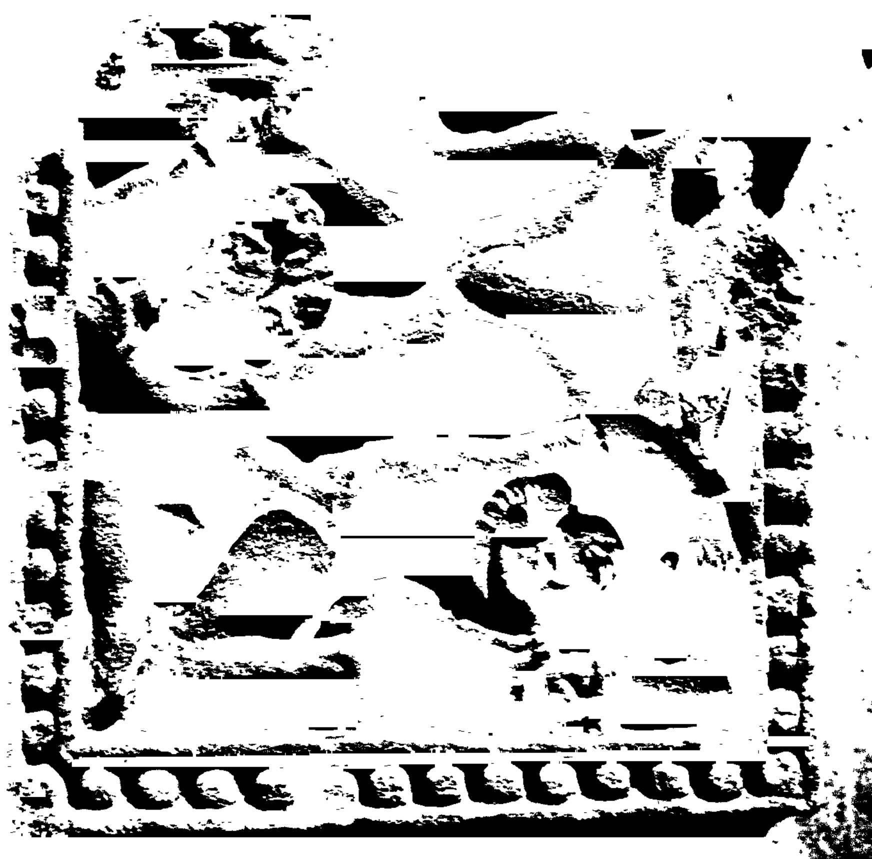
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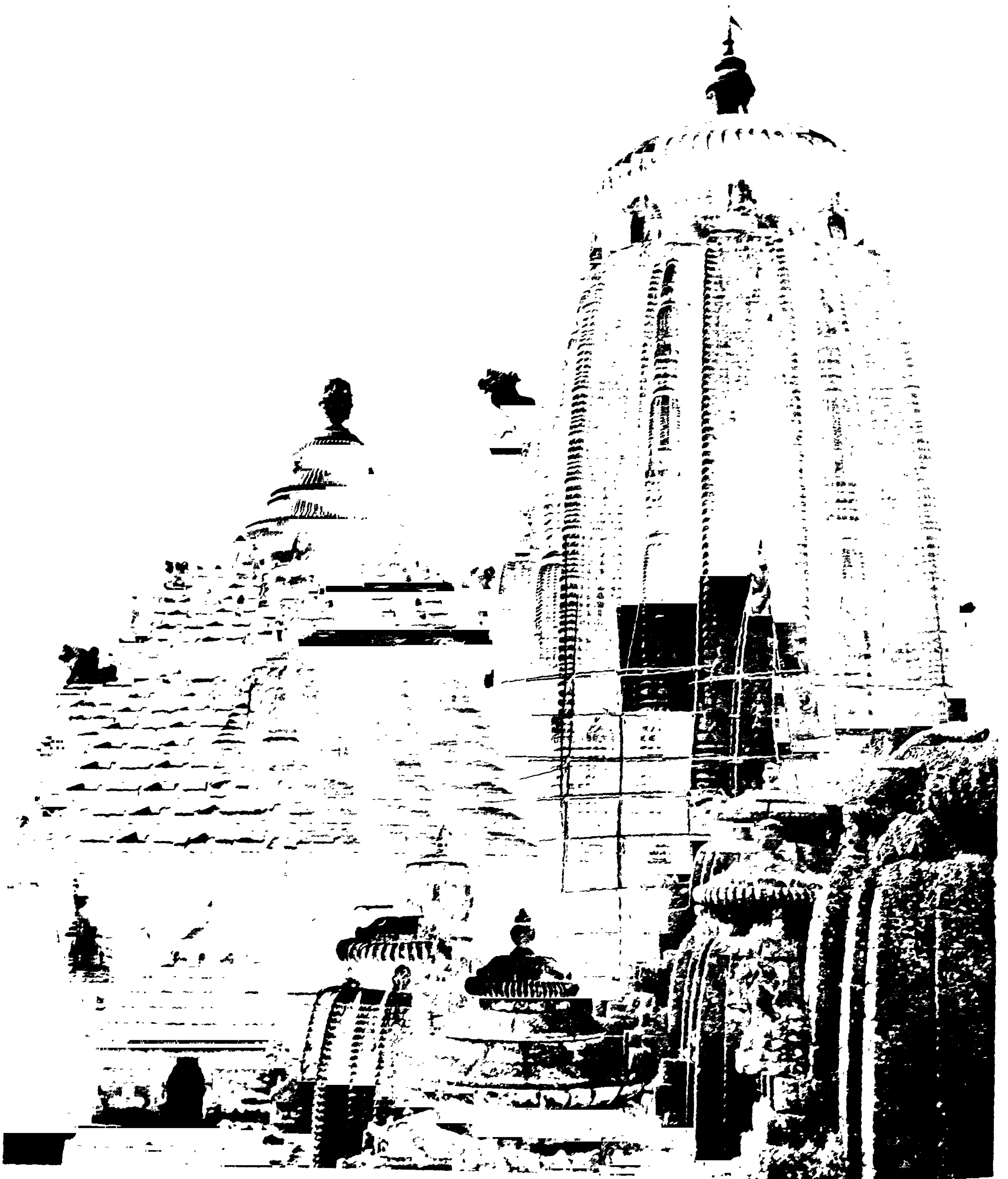


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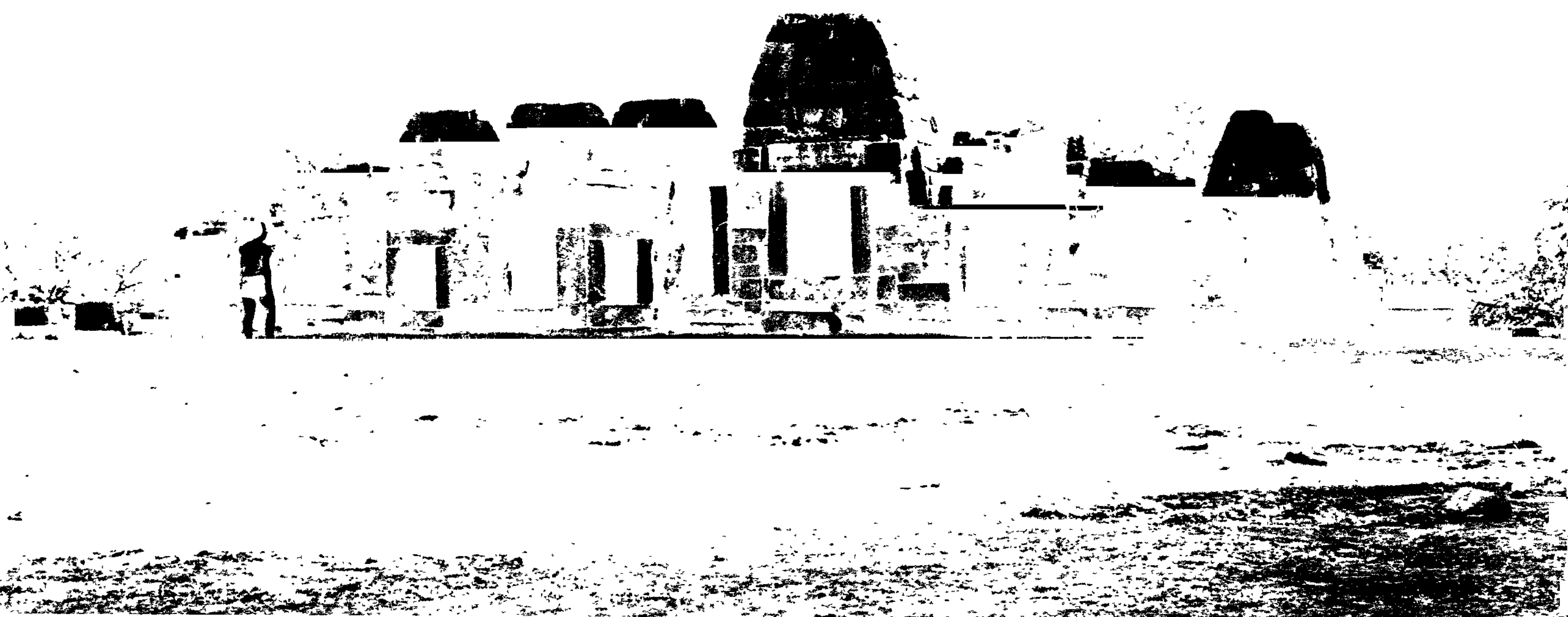
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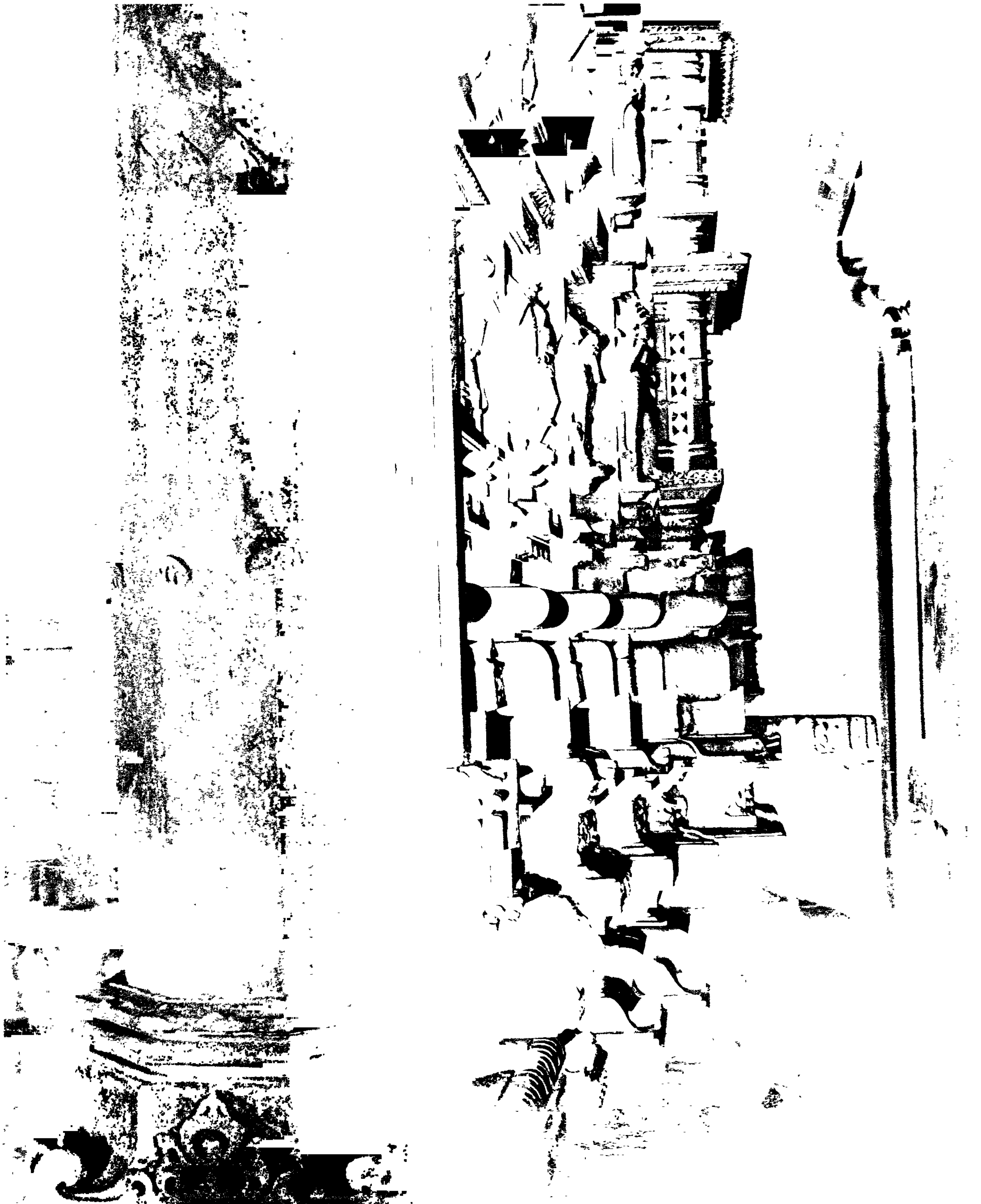


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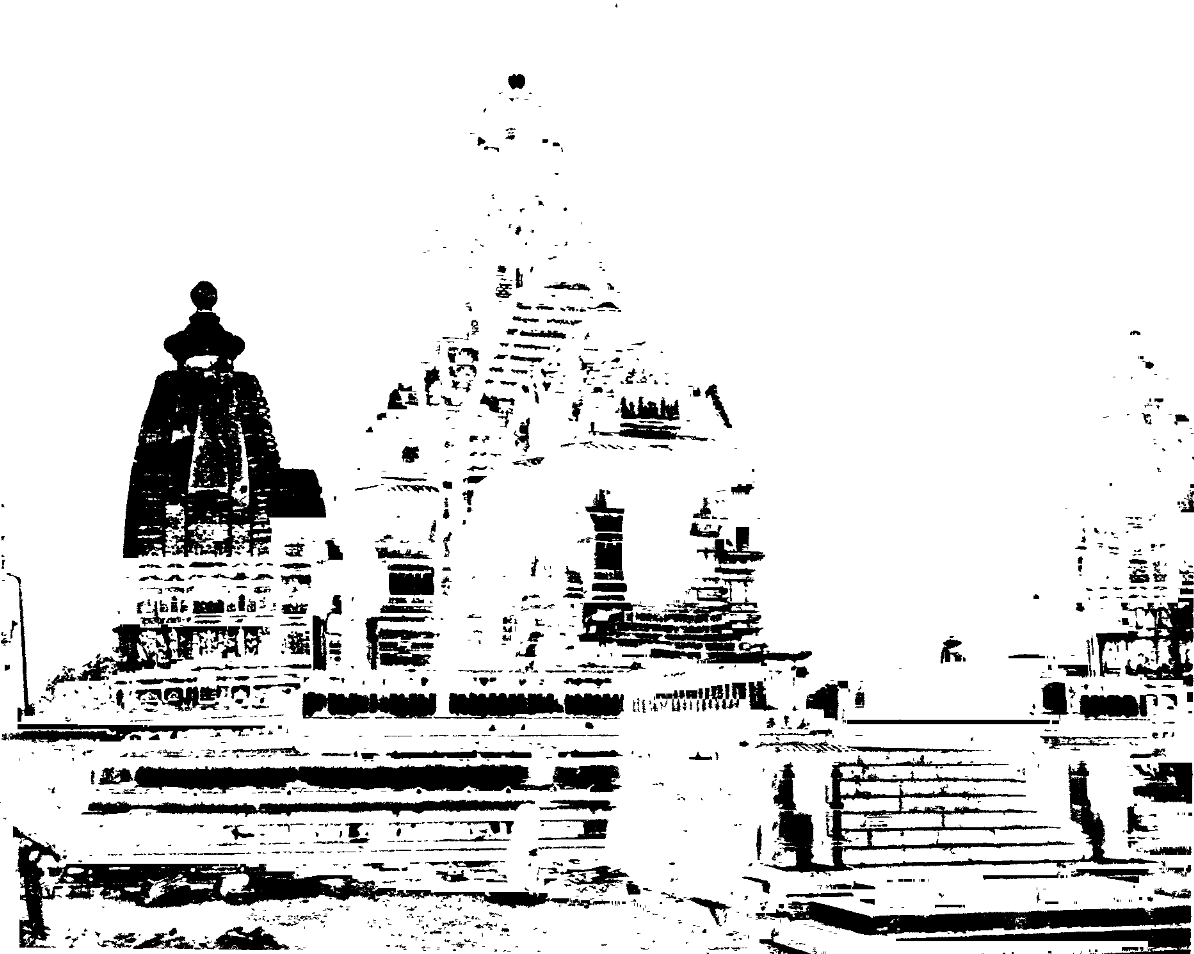




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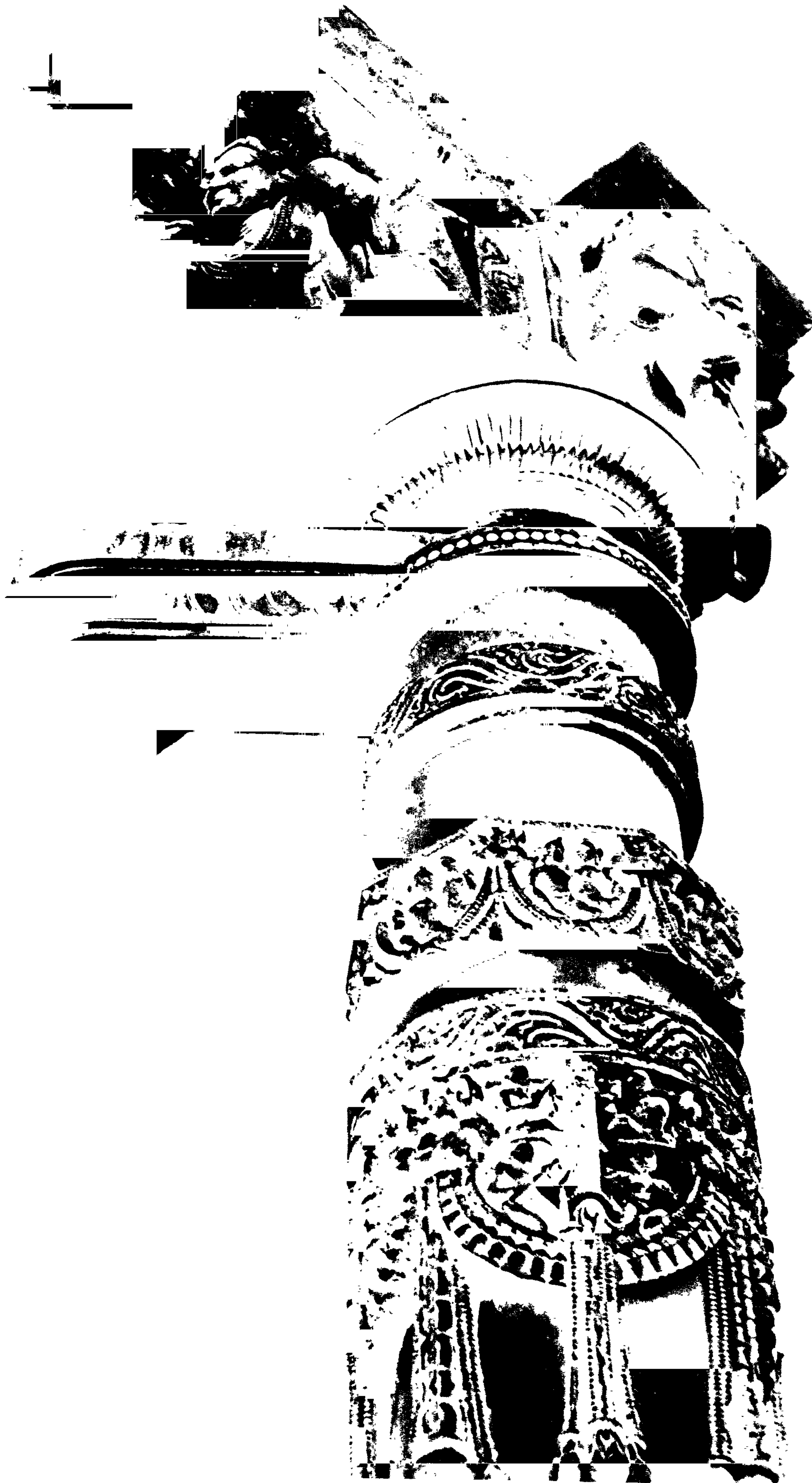
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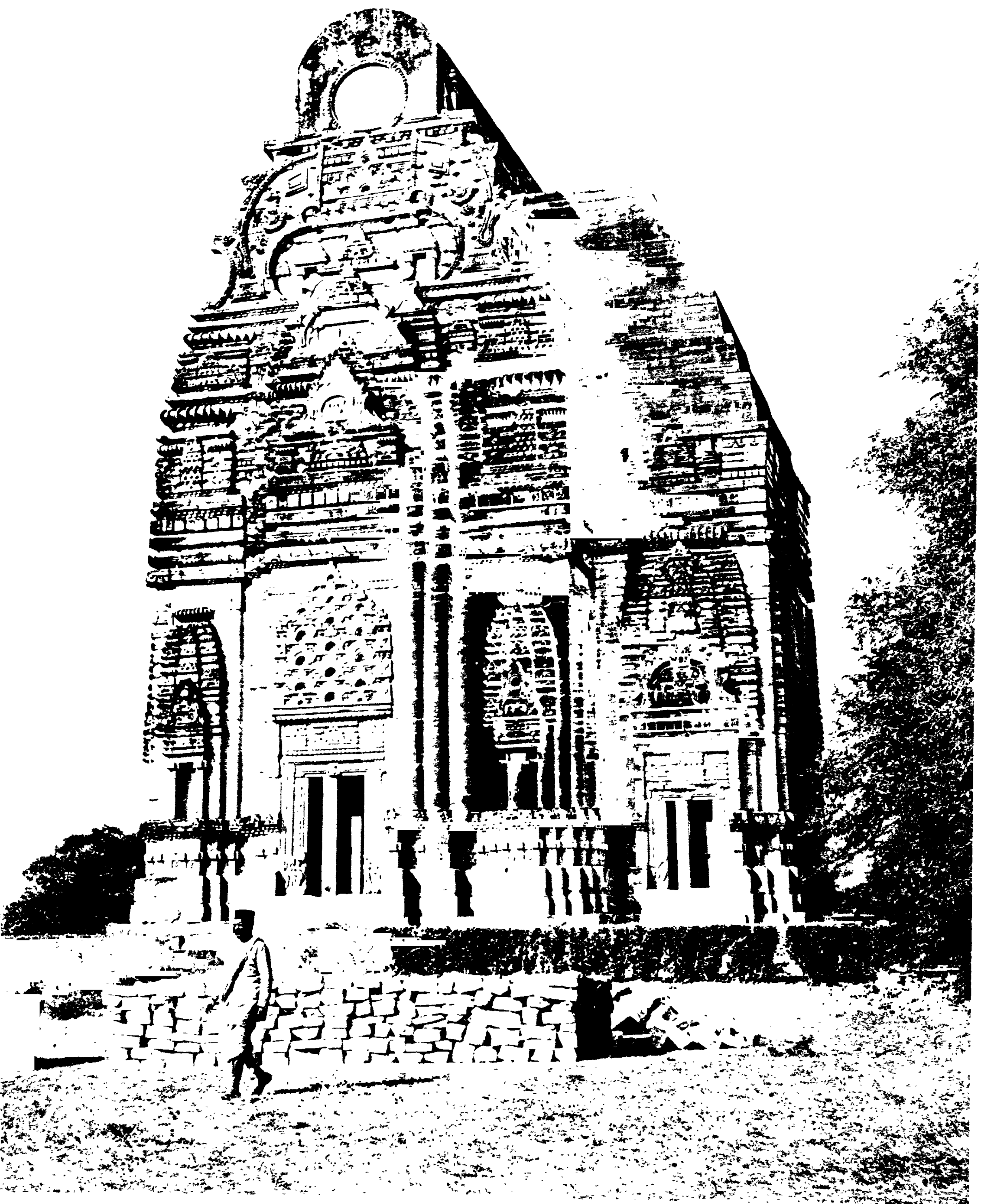
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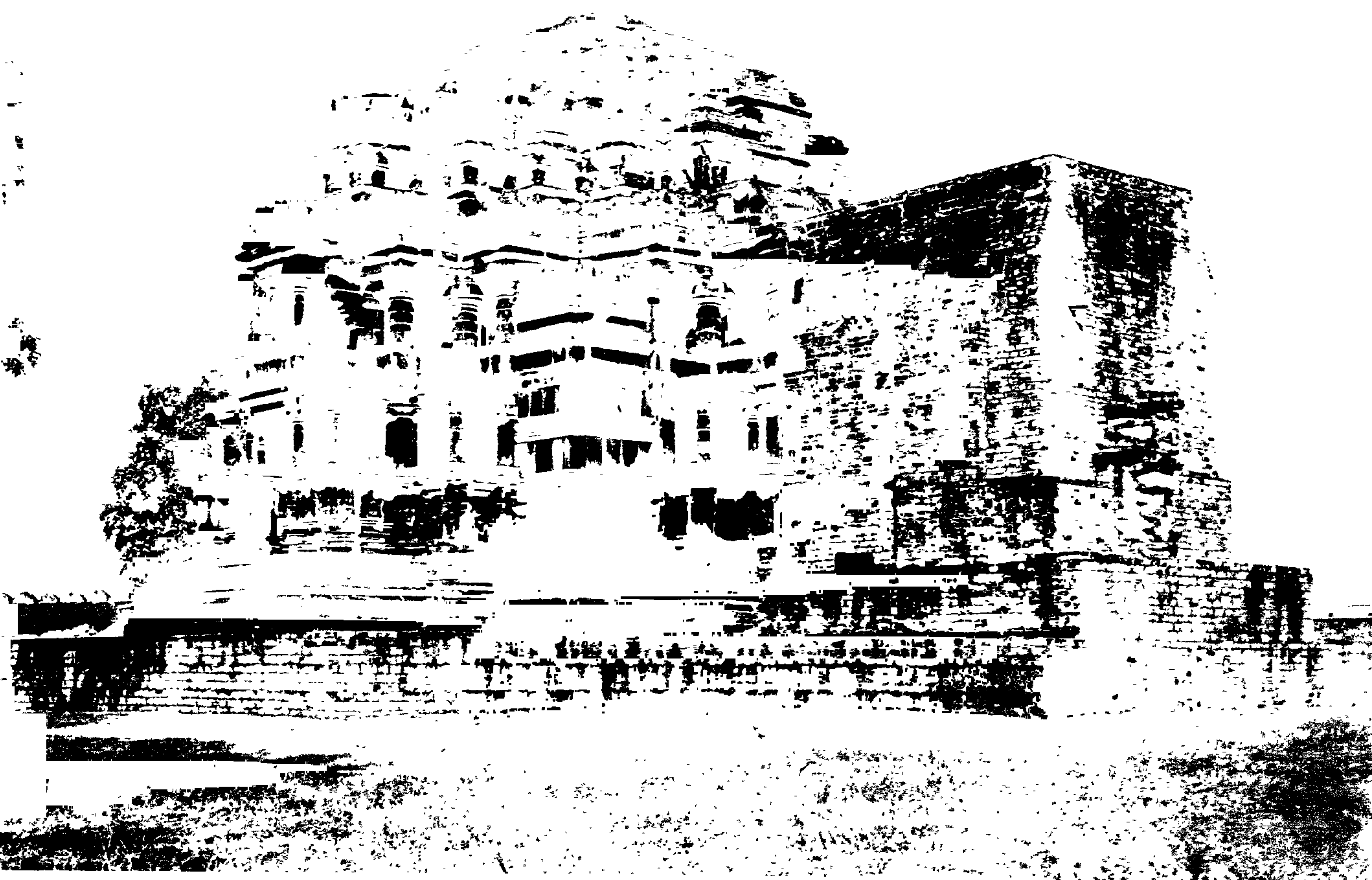
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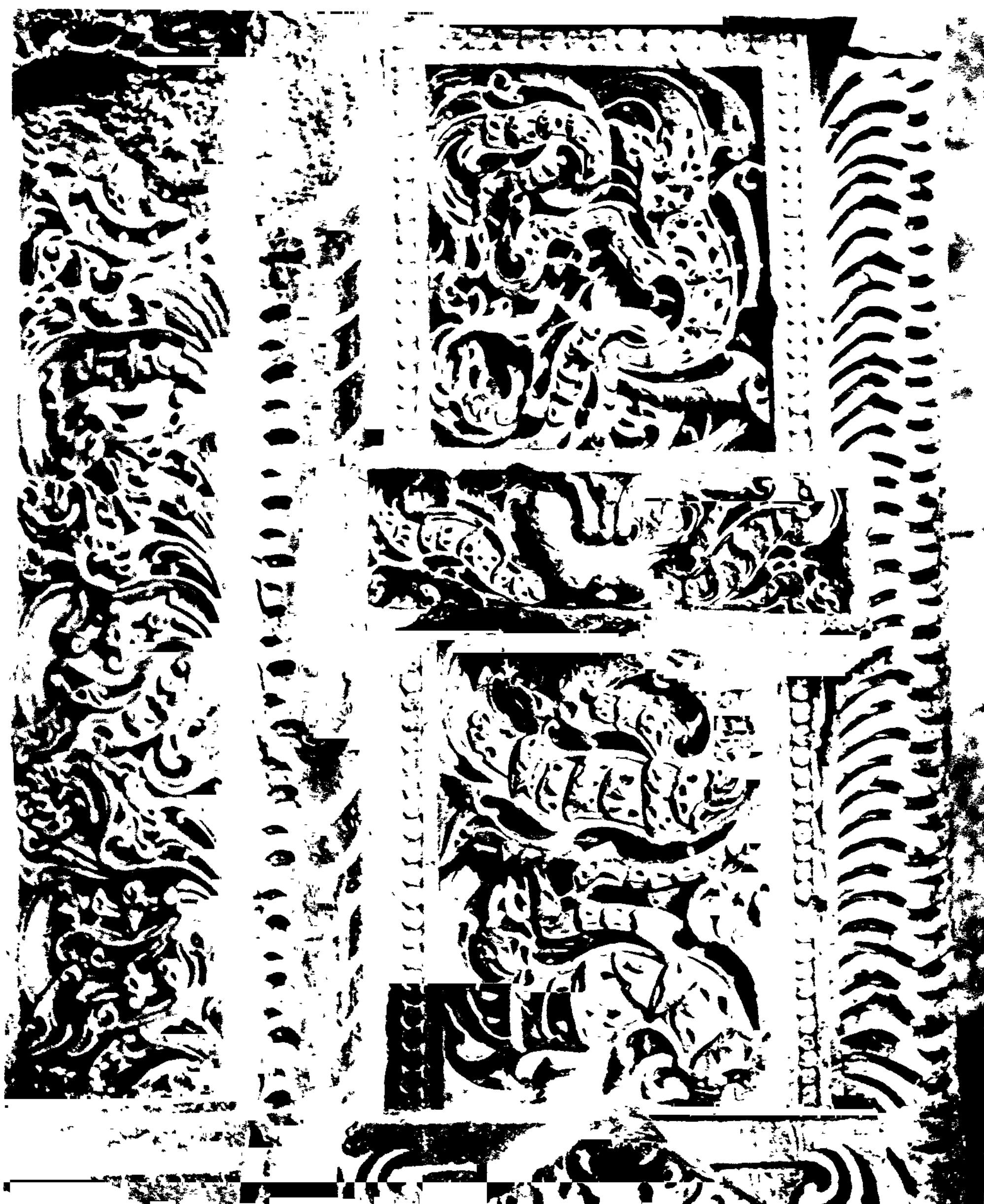


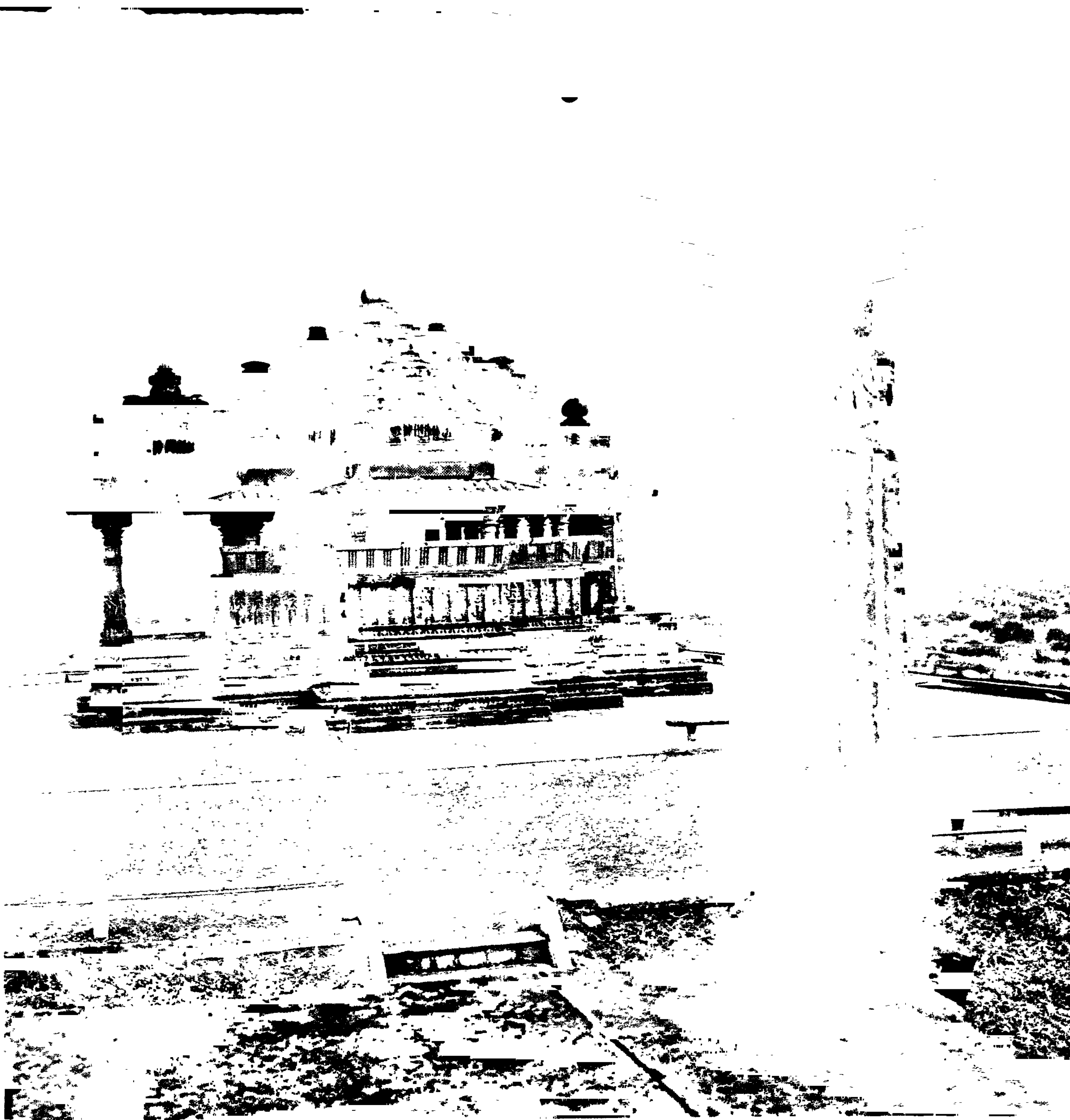
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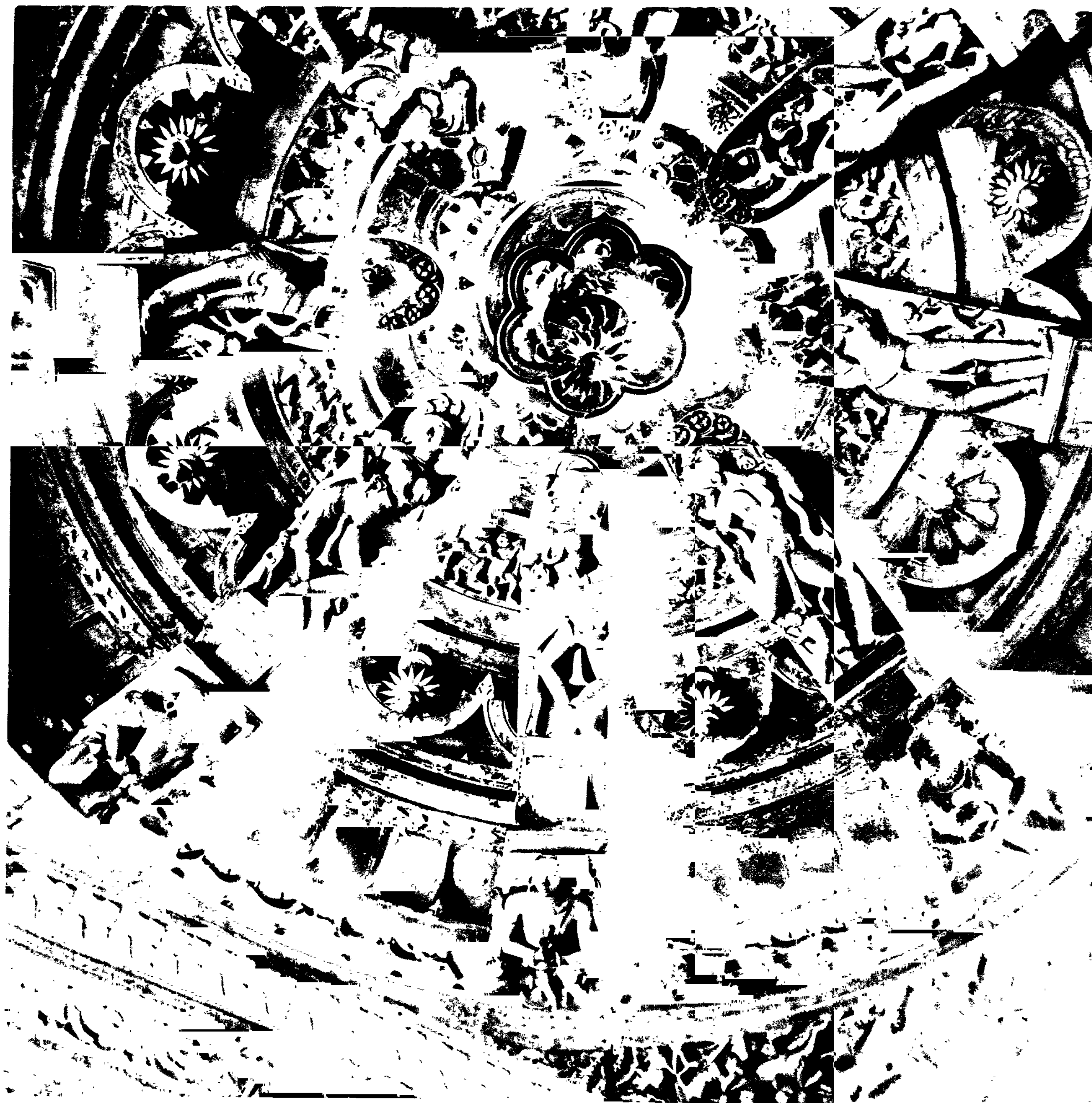




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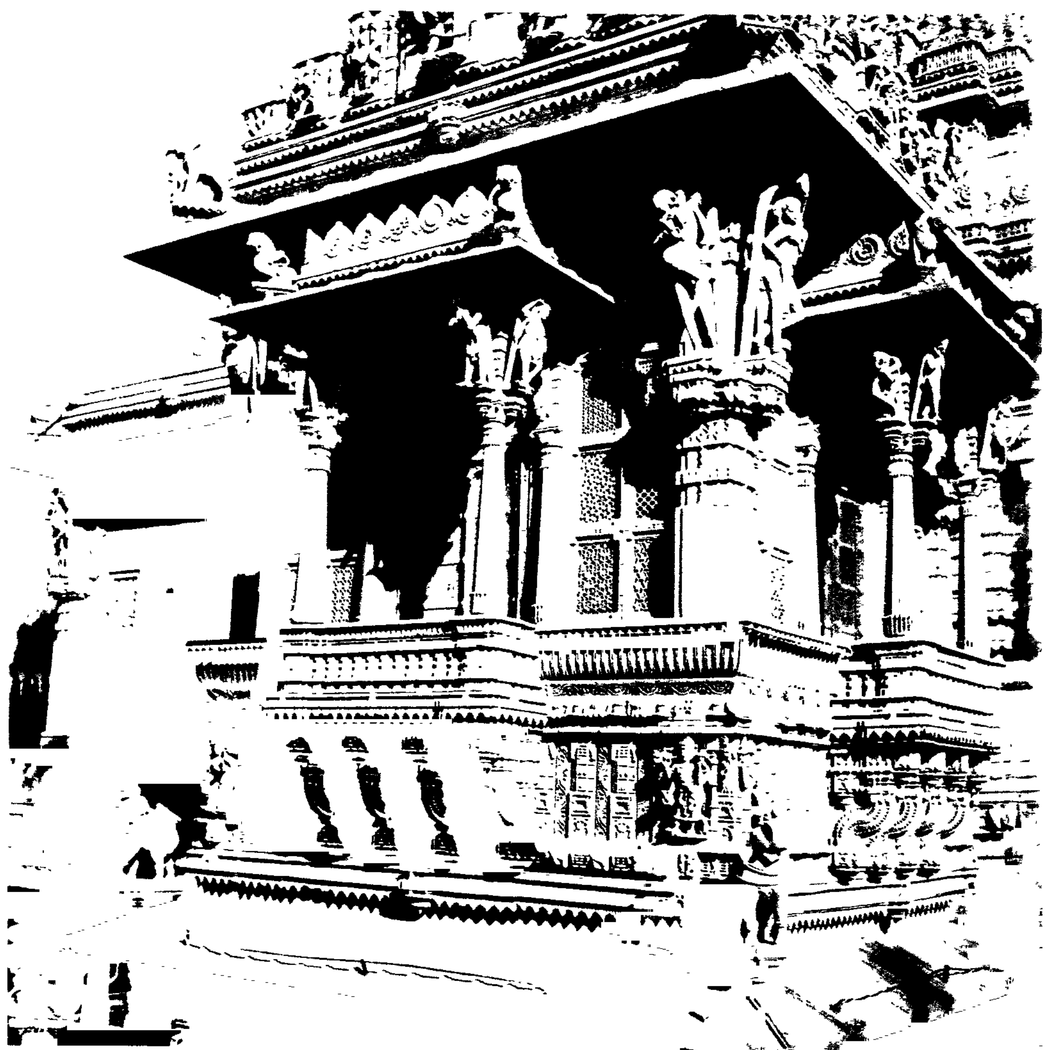


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III. REGIONAL STYLES

A. The Art of the Hoysala Dynasties (12th-13th Century)

The Hoysalas—petty, tribal chiefs and, for long, vassals of morepowerful neighbours—reigned as independent sovereigns in the region of the present state of Mysore from the 12th century to the 13th, until the day when the Muslims devastated their territory and laid waste their rich capital, Dvarasamud. The name Halebid, meaning old town, was then given to the capital by the Muslims.

The Hoysalas had always shown great skill in stone sculpture and numerous monuments bear witness that their predecessors, the Gangas, who were of the Jaina faith, had also been great builders. The Hoysala temples show great differences from other Jaina and Brahmanic temples. Their plan is simple, generally a star pattern, with one, two, or even three shrines. These temples, built on a platform which follows the lines of the walls, are the most richly decorated of the temples of India. Parallel bands, decorated with bas-reliefs, run along the walls. The interior columns and the ceilings are minutely carved. Female statues, known as *madanaka*, serve as false brackets to support the porch roofs and the ceilings. Originally these temples were surmounted by pyramidal towers of star section. The most complete example which has survived to our day is also the latest: this is the temple of Somnathpur. The temples were surrounded by walls and covered galleries. Sometimes, under the Vijayanagara dynasties, a *gopuram*, generally of modest dimensions, was erected at the principal entrance of the enclosure.

306. GOMMATESVARA, SRAVANA BELGOLA. This enormous statue (it is in fact the largest monolithic colossus in the world, being nearly 60 feet high) was created between the years of 974 and 984 approximately. Situated on the top of a hill, it was carved directly from an enormous block of granite, and represents one of the first Jaina *tirthankaras* who retired from the world after a victory in battle. The Jaina monk, Aristhanemi, was the chief craftsman.

307. HEAD OF THE COLOSSUS GOMMATA, SRAVANA BELGOLA. One cannot say that this is a masterpiece and there are plenty of other colossi in the world less enormous which are more exactly proportioned and have a less heavy style. Only the face, with its calm smile, its elegantly curled hair, and its quivering nostrils give a certain air of sensitivity.

308. GENERAL VIEW, CHENNA KESAVA TEMPLE, BELUR. The Hoysala king Visnuvardhana caused it to be erected in 1117 by a one-armed architect whose name has been preserved. At least, such is the legend, but his name is not found in any inscription. It is a vast pavilion open to the east and the west whose roof is supported by numerous pillars, all of different shapes. The outer pillars were joined some years later by screens with holes pierced through them. The tower which used to be over the hall was repaired several times and was finally demolished about 1888.

309. INTERIOR OF THE HALL, CHENNA KESAVA, BELUR. The pillars support beams, forming coffers on which the sculptured ceilings rest. Each column bears a different decoration from the others, generally formed by longitudinal bands crossed by transverse mouldings. The base of each column consists simply of a square-section block of stone. These columns are generally cut from a single block of polished sand-stone.

310. INTERIOR, CHENNA KESAVA, BELUR. This pillar is remarkable for a number of reasons. Its decoration consists of innumerable representations of various deities. It is so constructed that it can turn about its axis.

311. OUTER WALL, CHENNA KESAVA, BELUR. Each frieze consists of a number of figures, placed side by side, sometimes separated by pilasters. The deeply cut grooves which separate the friezes produce a play of shadows which increases the decorative effect of the whole and allows the architecture to keep its unity despite the abundance of decoration.

312. GROUP, OUTER WALL, CHENNA KESAVA. Visnu and Lakshmi with Garuda, the mythical bird, the vehicle of Visnu, at their feet. The pyramidal decoration which surmounts the group encloses a seated Siva, and has *makaras* at its base. The dragon head which crowns the whole, as well as that which decorates the *kudu* at the foot, is typically Dravidian. The decorative style, complicated and very ornate, tends towards an Indian "rococo"

which we shall see appear and develop in the later temples of the same style.

313. MADANAKA, CHENNA KESAVA. This is the celebrated "*madanaka* with scorpion" which shows an entirely naked woman, a rather rare feature in Indian iconography. The excuse here was a scorpion which had been found in the folds of her dress. Above the *madanaka*, details of the porch roof can be seen which imitate timber construction.

314. DANCING MADANAKA, CHENNA KESAVA. The movement is lively, the veils and the jewellery seem to fly but the equilibrium of this graceful dancer is remarkably maintained. The decoration of the background is chiseled like lace and form a kind of aureole or arch.

315. OUTER WALL, HOYSALESVARA TEMPLE, HALEBID. The temple of Halebid, similar to that of Belur but more complicated, consists of two shrines. It was erected by Ketamalla, an officer of king Visnuvardhana between about 1120 and 1141. It is much more decorated than the Belur temple and its sculpture is entirely baroque. The architecture of the whole is correct and the details can only be seen from a short distance away.

316. DVARAPALA, HOYSALESVARA, HALEBID. On each side of the door of the great *mandapa* are carved large *dvarapalas*, overloaded with an incredible quantity of jewellery and ornaments of all sorts. Pilgrims, as they enter the temple, sometimes leave flowers in the interstices of the carvings.

317. DETAIL OF FRIEZE, HOYSALESVARA, HALEBID. Battle scene with a war chariot. Arrows fly from all sides. The warriors are armed with spears, bows, daggers and swords, and protect themselves with small, round shields.

318. INTERIOR, HOYSALESVARA, HALEBID. This is less rich than that of the Belur temple and its pillars are more simple. In front of the cella, in the middle of the temple, a round platform probably served for the performance of sacred dances.

319. GANESA, HOYSALESVARA, HALEBID. This colossus well represents Hoysala genius. Ganesa here wears a crown, starred with jewels. Even his tusks are decorated. In his hands he carries the emblems of Siva, whose son he is.

320. GENERAL VIEW OF THE KESAVA TEMPLE, SOMNATHPUR. This is the most complete and best arranged of Hoysala temples. It has three star-shaped sanctuaries preceded by a single hall. The temple is of modest dimensions and marks a kind of regression in the art of the sculptor. It was erected in 1268. It occupies the centre of a rectangular courtyard, 213 feet by 174 feet. The temple measures about 89 feet from east to west and from north to south. The towers are only 33 feet high.

321. TOWER, KESAVA TEMPLE, SOMNATHPUR. This follows the star outline of the shrine which it surmounts and is, like the walls of the temple, covered with carved friezes. A flat dome, of circular section, crowns it. The temple has three identical towers.

322. SANCTUARY ENTRANCE, KESAVA, SOMNATHPUR. This is richly decorated. On each side of the uprights of the door stands a *dvarapala* armed wi h a club. In the background, by the open door, the deity can be seen, in this case Krishna playing the flute. Above the door the lintel is decorated with carvings showing the same deity. Stalactities adorn the lower part of the lintel.

323. CEILING, KESAVA. This is constructed, as in all Indian temples, by corbelling. The square coffering is reduced to an octagon by stones at the corners which support the circular ceiling. From the central stone there hangs an enormous unopened lotus flower. All round the first circular gallery dwarfs are portrayed in various postures.

324. STATUE ON OUTSIDE OF KESAVA. This portrays Agni, the god of Fire and Lord of the South East. The baroque style of this statue shows a certain degree of stiffness. The unbridled fantasy which was the rule at Halebid and Belur gives place here to a more conventional approach. The decoration loses its finesse and becomes heavier and more regular.

325. DETAIL OF FRIEZE, KESAVA. If the sculptures of this temple are more crude, its friezes are more carefully executed. This one shows a procession. On the horse at the right interesting details of a harness can be observed. The animal on the left is one of the very rare portrayals of the dromedary. These animals, unknown in southern India are in fact never shown in southern carvings, and only very rarely in those of the north. Here it is carrying two great drums on which a man beats with a stick in either hand. Although the dromedary and the horse are of the same size the difference in size of the men by comparison with the animals gives us the true scale.

326. EXTERIOR FRIEZE, KESAVA. We have here typical Hoysala friezes of geese and of *makaras* and, below them a more curious detail: a woman opens her door to a *naga*. In the antechamber a porter is seated. In the adjoining room Visnu and Lakshmi are seated on a sofa. A worshipper speaks to them. It may be that this was a domestic scene which is here translated into the religious sphere.

B. The Art of the Kakatiya (12th Century)

To the east of the Chalukya kingdom the Kakatiya dynasty, profiting from the weakness of the Cholas and the Chalukyas, won its independence in the 12th century. The princes of this dynasty made their capital at Hanumkonda but they subsequently transferred to Warangal. They built a magnificent temple at Hanumkonda, and a shrine adorned with four great *toranas* at Warangal. Malik Kafur's invasion of the Deccan put an end to their independence.

327. HANUMKONDA. This temple, erected in 1162 by Pratopa Rudra, is in some ways similar to that of Somnathpur and has three shrines dedicated to Siva, Visnu and Surya. Its general plan is that of a tau-cross, with a shrine in each arm. A great pavillion, or *mandapa*, rises in front of the temple and is completely separated from it. Between the *mandapa* and the shrines is a Nandin temple. Only the carving of Nandin has remained more or less intact. The temple, built of granite, is almost undecorated. It measures about 100 feet by 82 feet and, like the Hoysala temples, stands on a platform which follows the lines of the temple. It was never finished, which is the reason for the lack of decoration and the absence of towers.

328. OUTER WALL, HANUMKONDA. This temple, although of simpler shape than those of the Hoysalas, makes skilful use of the play of light which produces architectural effects of great elegance. This is due to the clever use of mouldings which are vertically cut in niches and steps.

329. INTERIOR PILLAR, HANUMKONDA. Some pillars of the hall are, however, decorated. In style they are very close to those of the Halebid temples although more massive. Their brackets are closer to the Chalukyan style.

330. DETAIL OF INTERIOR PILLAR, HANUMKONDA.

331. NANDIN, HANUMKONDA. He has lost his ears as well as the pavilion which used to shelter him. The style of this carving is plain, simple and reasonably anatomical, which distinguishes it from that of the Hoysala. However the multiple garlands and necklaces which adorn his neck and head are related to the Belur style. It may be that there were direct connections between the Kakatiya and the Hoysala. The chronicles say nothing of this, but the similarity of their styles would seem to suggest it.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS STYLES

There are too many local styles in India for us to attempt to deal with them all in this too summary study. They all show characteristics borrowed from major Indian styles and form isolated, architectural groups which are transitory and without influence on other styles. They are, however, all typically Indian in their conception and in their use of decorative motifs, of which examples are found in every period and in every region of India.

332. PILLARS OF THE QUWAT-UL-ISLAM, DELHI. These pillars, used in the 12th century to construct a mosque, come from a Hindu temple demolished by the Muslims and probably date from the 8th or 9th century. The Muslims simply used them after carefully destroying the representations of Hindu deities which had been carved on the shafts.

333. JAINA STATUE OF ADINATHA, THE FIRST TIRTHANKARA, GAYA. This statue date from about the year 1000. On the sides are carved in two rows of twelve the twenty-four *tirthankaras* or prophets of the Jaina faith.

334. 11th CENTURY STATUE OF A BODHISATTVA, NALANDA. Characteristic Chinese influence is shown in the treatment of the eyes, the mouth and the chin. *Nalanda Museum.*

335. VAJRA TARA, SARNATH. 10th century. This very curious bust of Tara with three heads, at present in the Delhi Museum, seems to borrow from the Chandella style of Khajuraho its opulence and certain characteristics of the face and of the hair-style (see plates 283 and 288).

336. AVALOKITESVARA, NALANDA. This 12th-century statue is one of the most beautiful which has been left to us by the Buddhist school of Nalanda, then at the end of its existence. *Nalanda Museum.*

337. GOVINDA DEVA TEMPLE, BRINDAVAN. This temple, erected by Man Singh of Jaipur, in 1590, was transformed into a mosque by Aurangzeb. Only the porch and the cruciform *mandapa* remain today. It is one of the very rare temples in whose construction the true vault was used, since the

Indians knew only the corbelled or false vault. It measures about 112 feet by 102 feet. It is a two-storey building, surmounted by a terrace. The vault, resting on the four arms of the cross, is plain and undecorated and closely resembles a Gothic vault. The only other Indian temple which exhibits this feature is situated a few miles away and was built by king Bhagvandas of Amber during the reign of the Emperor Akbar. When one realises that the latter appreciated and employed foreign artists, the question arises whether this temple is in fact the work of an Indian architect.

INDIAN BRONZES

Since the earliest times, since the pre-Indian times of Mohenjodaro, the Indians have used the process known as *cire perdue* to cast bronze images. Few examples from these remote periods have survived to our days. In fact the oldest is the little dancing girl from Mohenjo-daro (plate 3); next come those of the Gupta period. Although unskilful enough in their execution they provide nevertheless excellent evidence of the art of the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. It is rare, on the other hand, to discover bronze images from the Deccan which date from before the 9th century. Likewise, in the south, it is difficult to date the oldest surviving bronze figures before the Chola period (10th century).

In general, the bronze figures which we find belong, as do all the images of Indian sculpture, to two distinct types: the static and the dynamic. The immobile or static pose can be rigid (plate 338), or demonstrate, more or less distinctly, the *tribhanga* (plates 342, 343, 344, 346, 349). In the dynamic poses they can be stable or in the act of dancing (postures of the Natharaja or dancing Siva). Here also it is the Sanskrit treatises which determine the sculptured forms as they determined the attributes and poses of each divine being who is represented.

The composition of the alloys used differs greatly according to the regions and the periods. In general true bronze was rare, owing to a lack of tin. Consequently most of the images were made from a different alloy with copper as a base. The alloys ought, at least for images destined for worship, to be composed traditionally of the metals considered as noble, five in the south (gold, silver, copper, iron and lead) and eight in the north. The astrological correspondence between the metals and the image of the god also had great influence. The method, probably very ancient, which is now used to obtain bronze statues, consists of first casting an imperfect image and then finishing it with a graving tool-sculpture in bronze. The attributes are sometimes added afterwards, either by crimping or by brazing.

338. STANDING BUDDHA, NALANDA. 7th or 9th century. *National Museum, Delhi.*

339. HAND OF BODHISATTVA, NALANDA. Gilt bronze. Medieval period. *National Museum, Delhi.*

340. TARA OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN. Medieval period. *National Museum, Delhi.*

341. CULT OBJECT. Represents a lion standing on an elephant. Medieval period. South Indian; exact provenance unknown. Height 16 inches. *National Museum, Delhi.*

342. CHOLA DEVI. 11th century. From Tanjore. *National Museum, Delhi*

343. CHANDRA SEKHARA ALINGANA MURTI. Siva and Parvati, from Tanjore. Chola period (12th century). *National Museum, Delhi.*

344. SIVA AND PARVATI. South India. 10th century? *Tanjore Museum.*

345. SIVA AND HIS DEER. Uncertain date (11th-13th century?). *Tanjore Museum.*

346. DEVI. Tanjore District, South India. 15th century. *National Museum, Delhi.*

347. DIPALAKSHMI. Gilt bronze. 17th century. Southern school (Tanjore?). *R. Grosset Collection, Paris.*

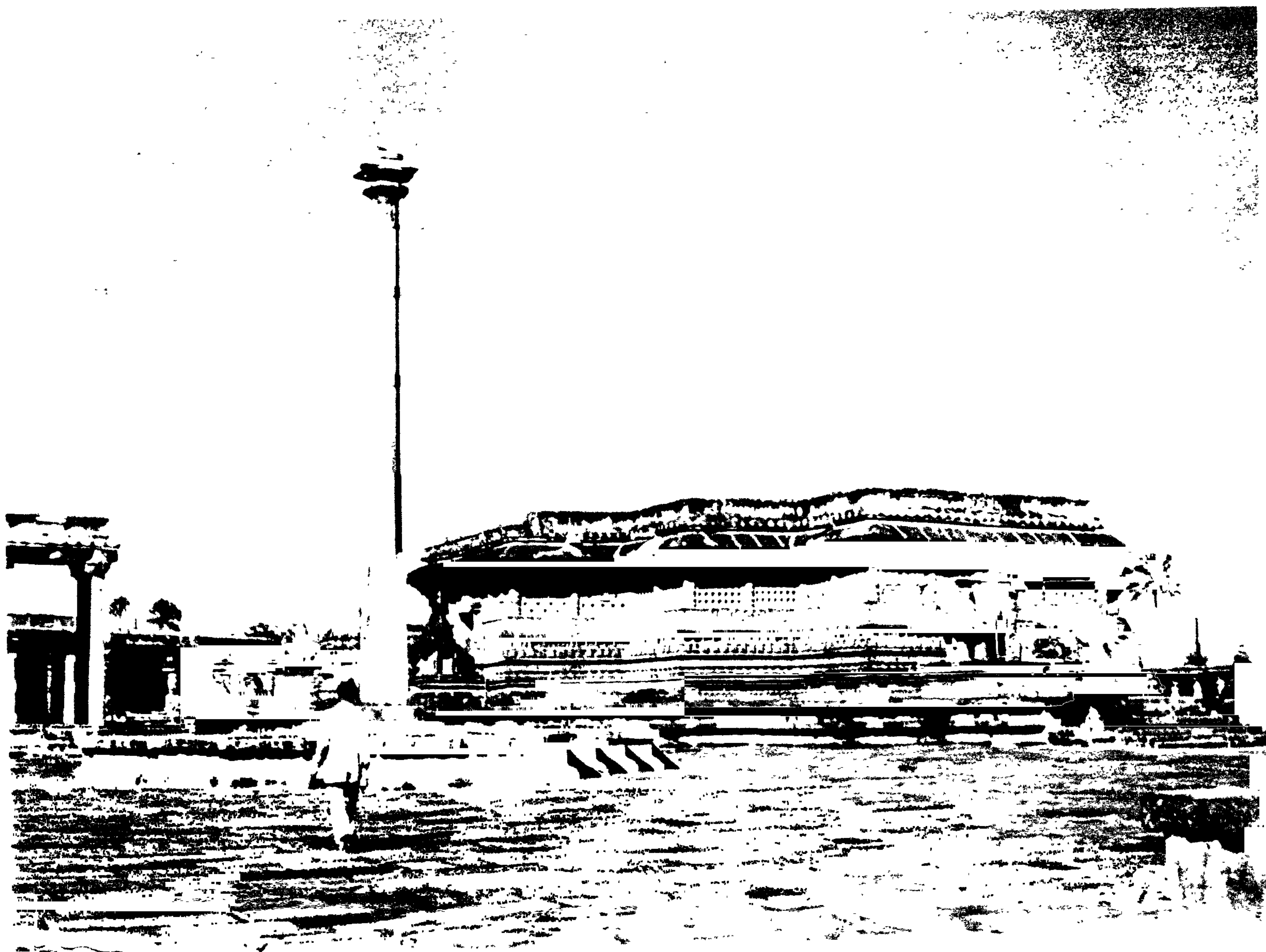
348. VISHNU AS BHAIRAVA, holding Lakshmi on his knee. Southern school 17th century. *Madras Museum.*

349. NATARAJA. Southern school. 17th century. *Musée Guimet*).

350. BALAKRISHNA. Southern school. 18th century. *J. Lavergne Collection, Paris.*

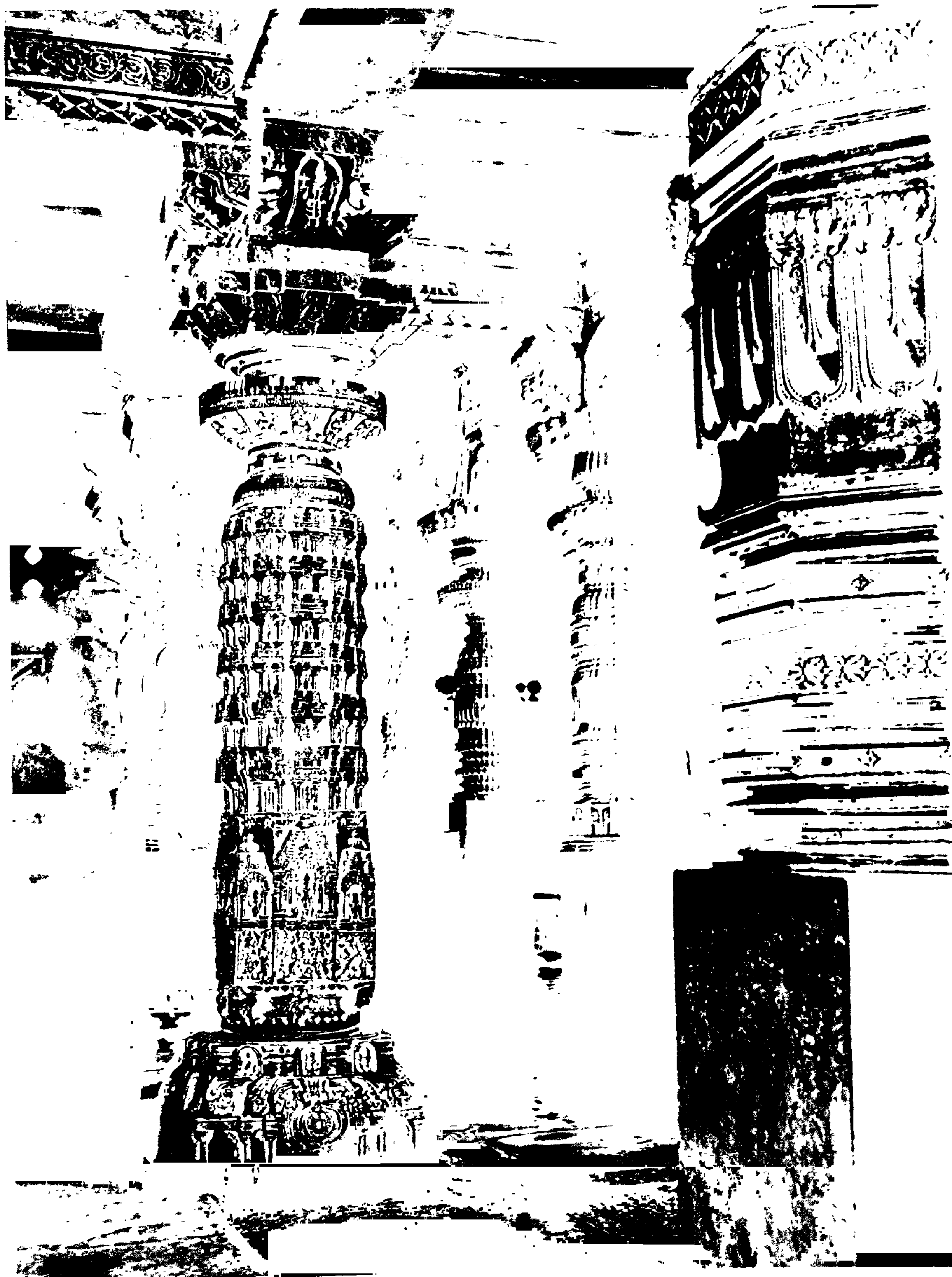




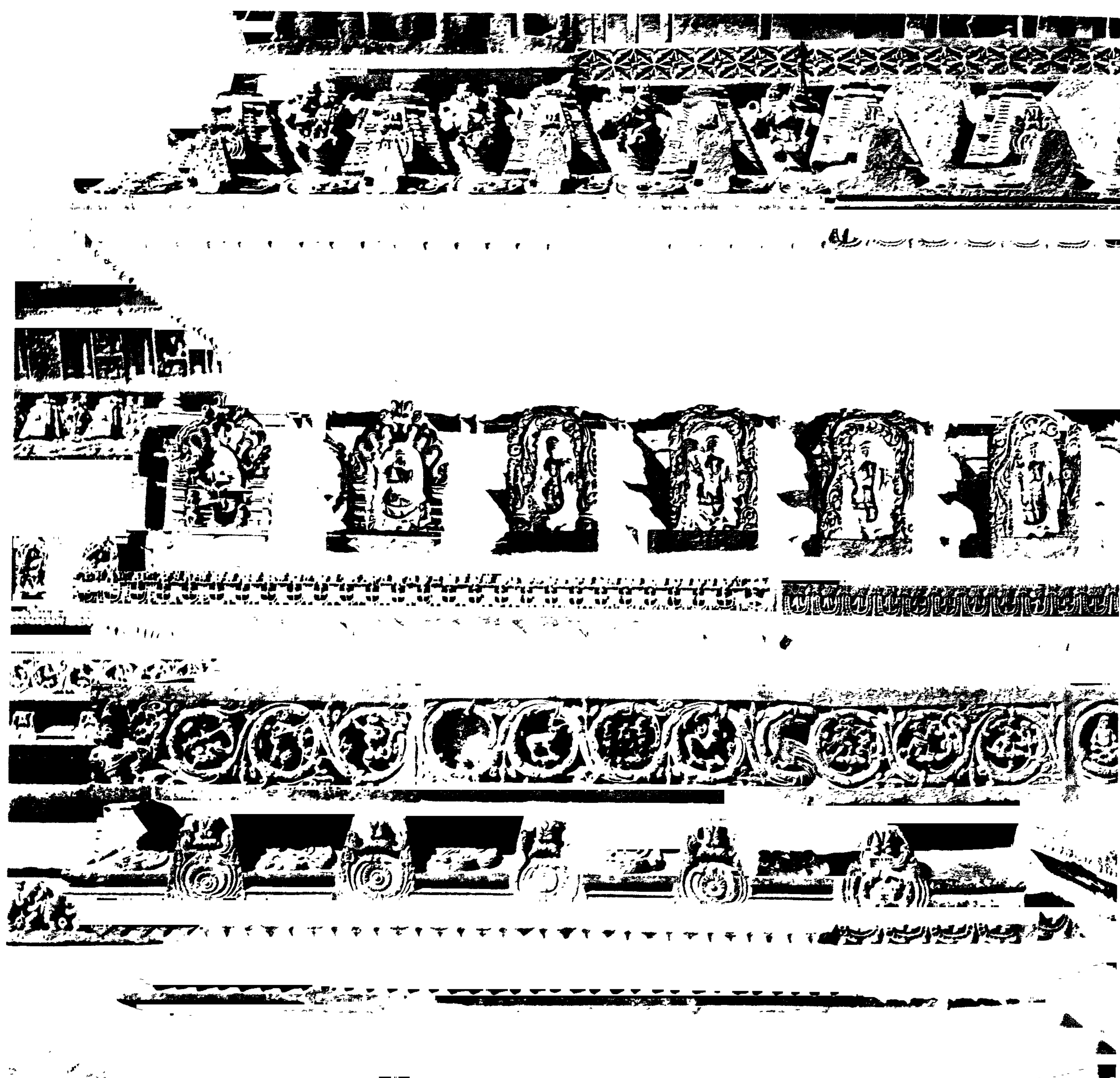


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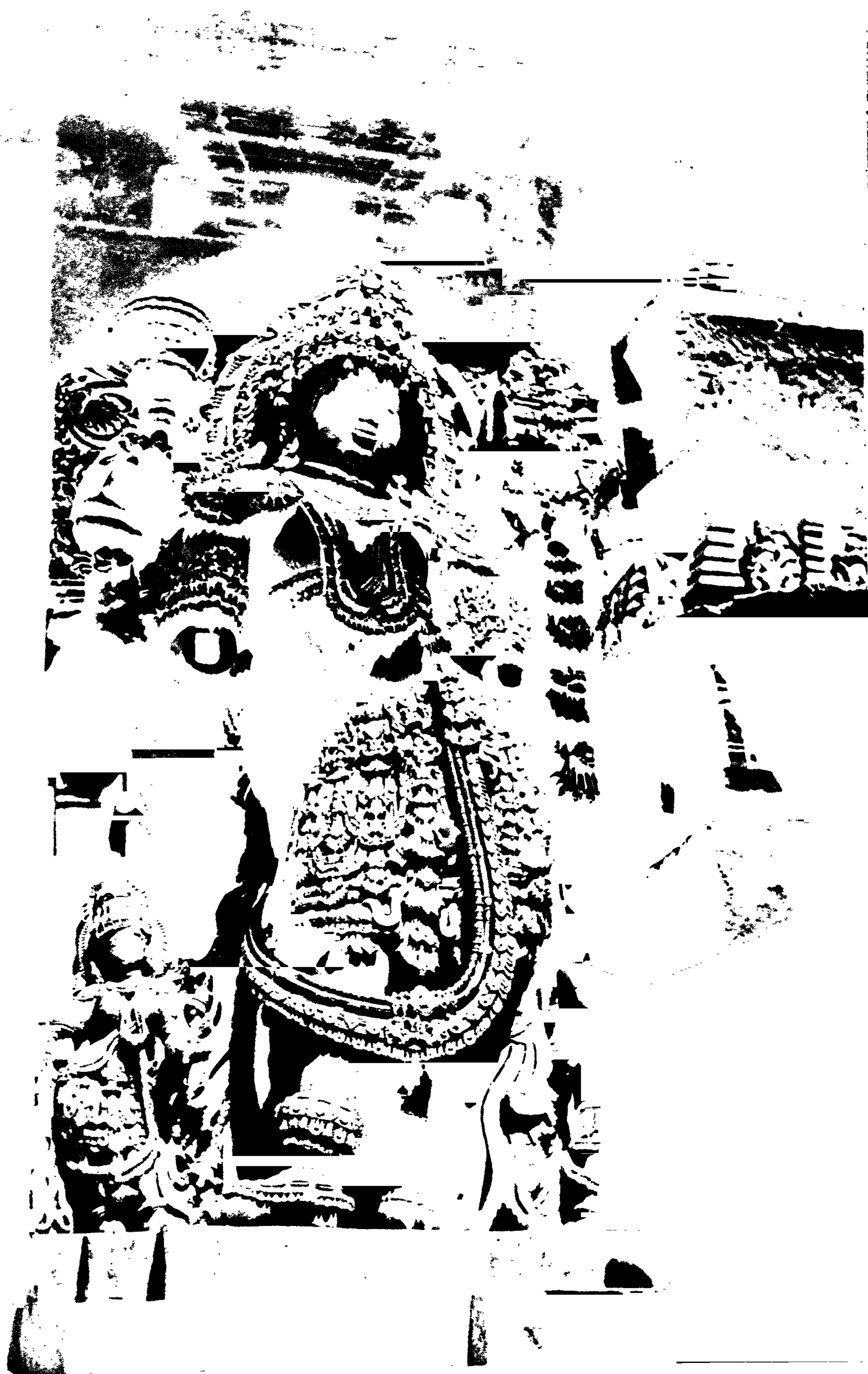




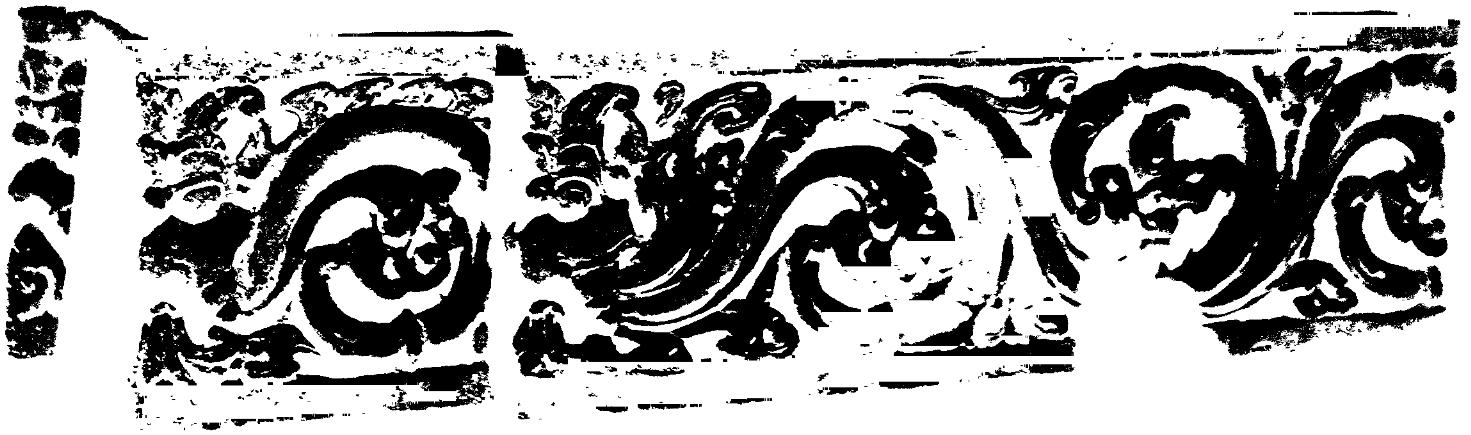
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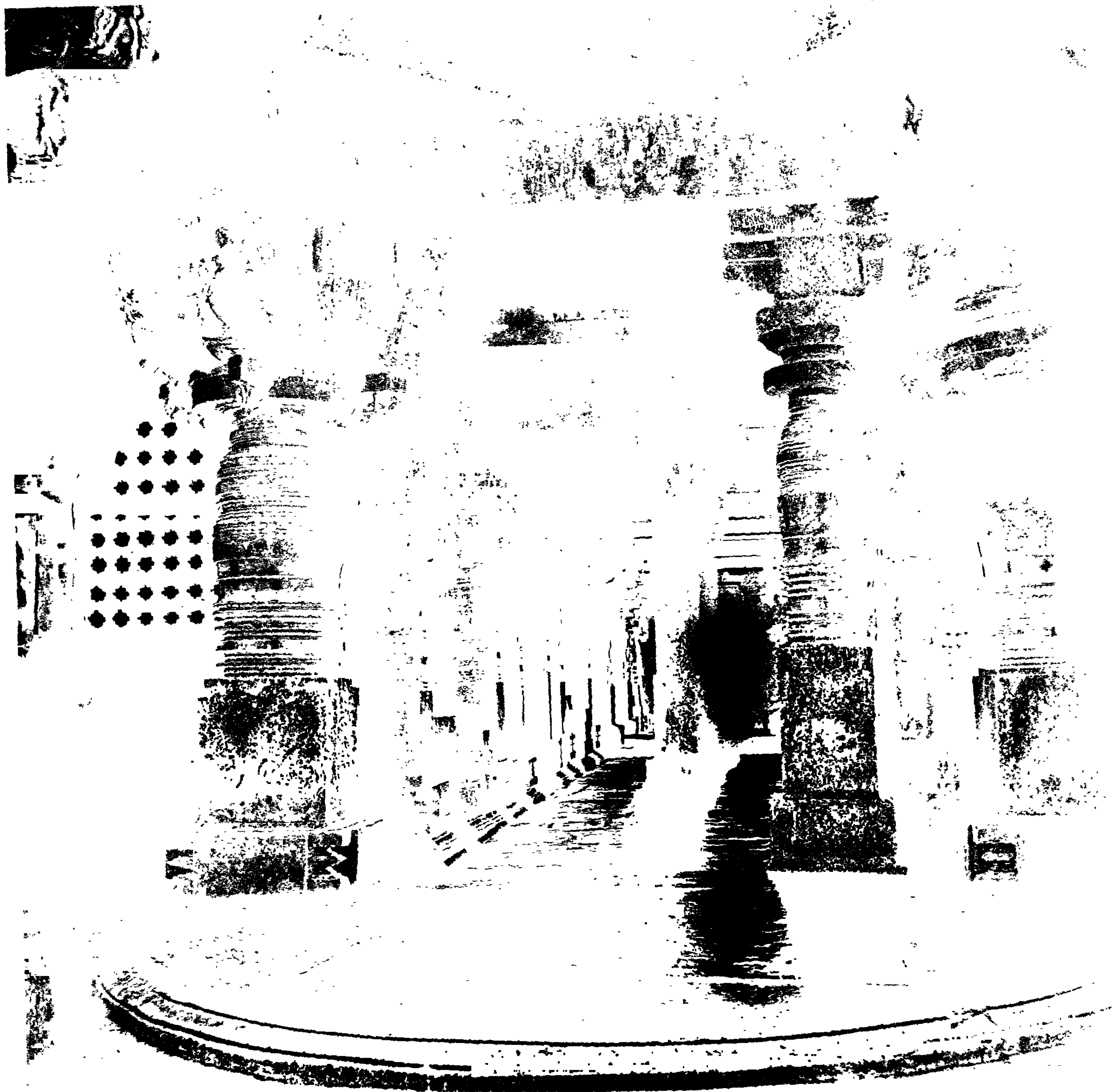




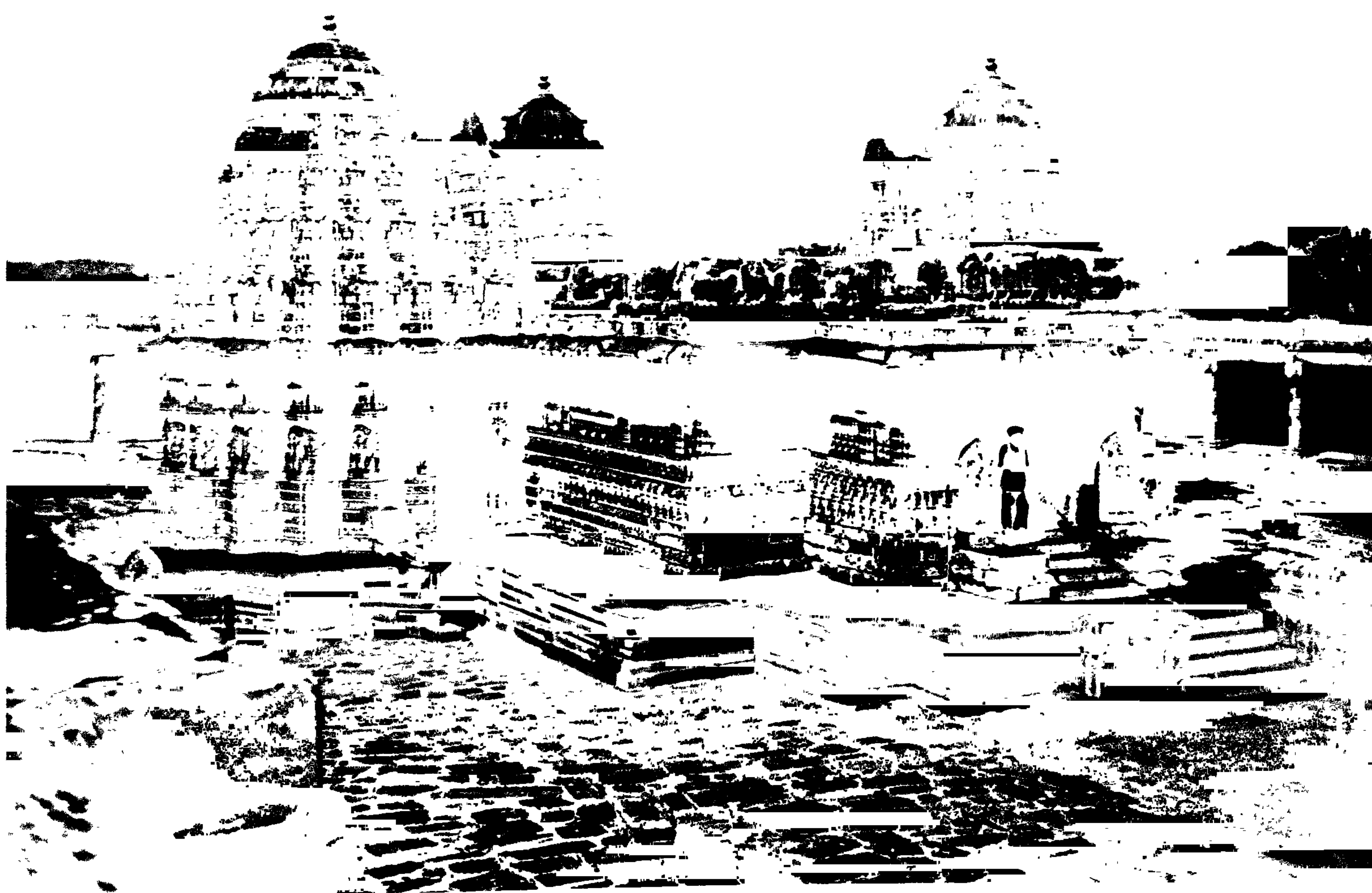




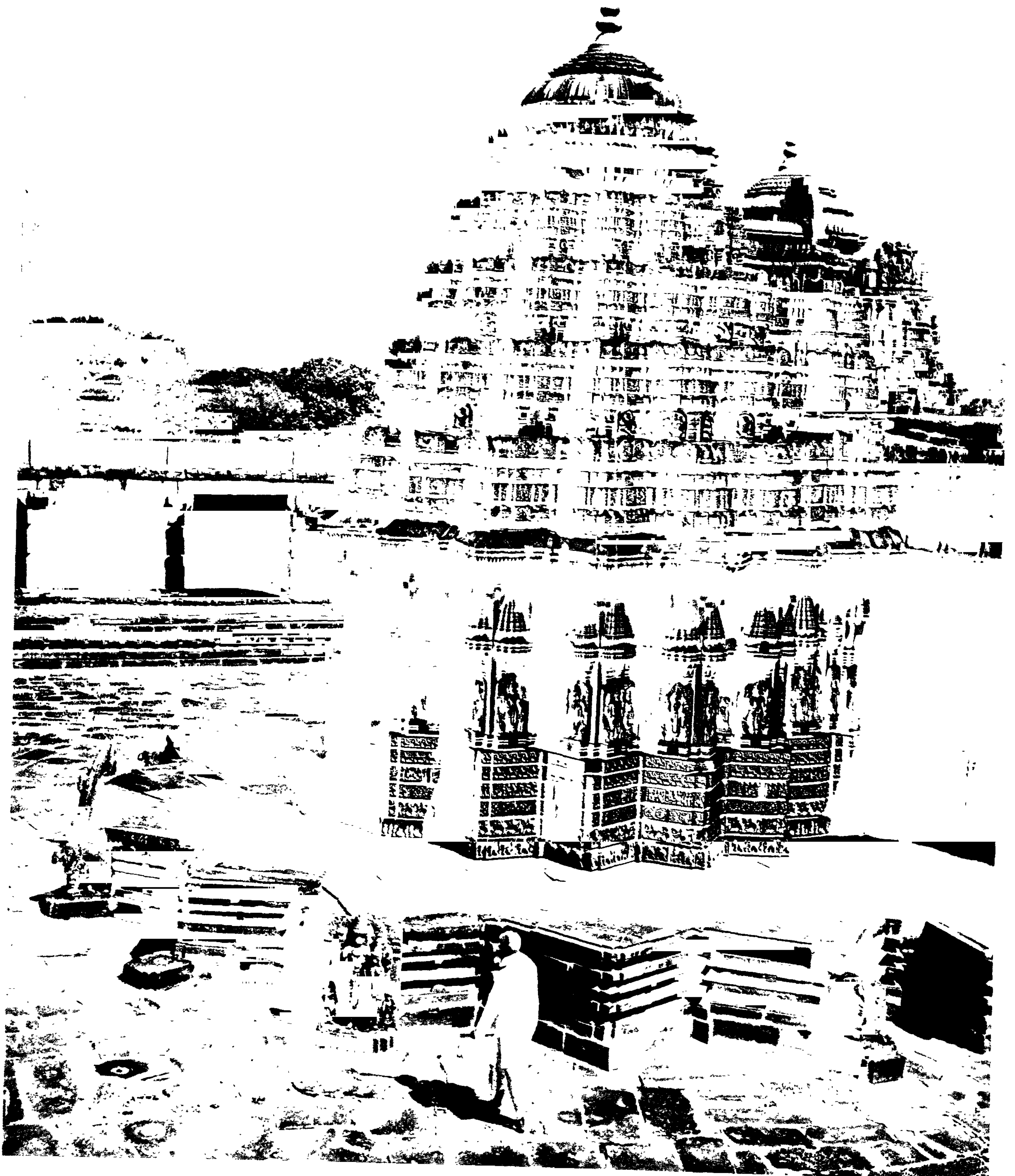






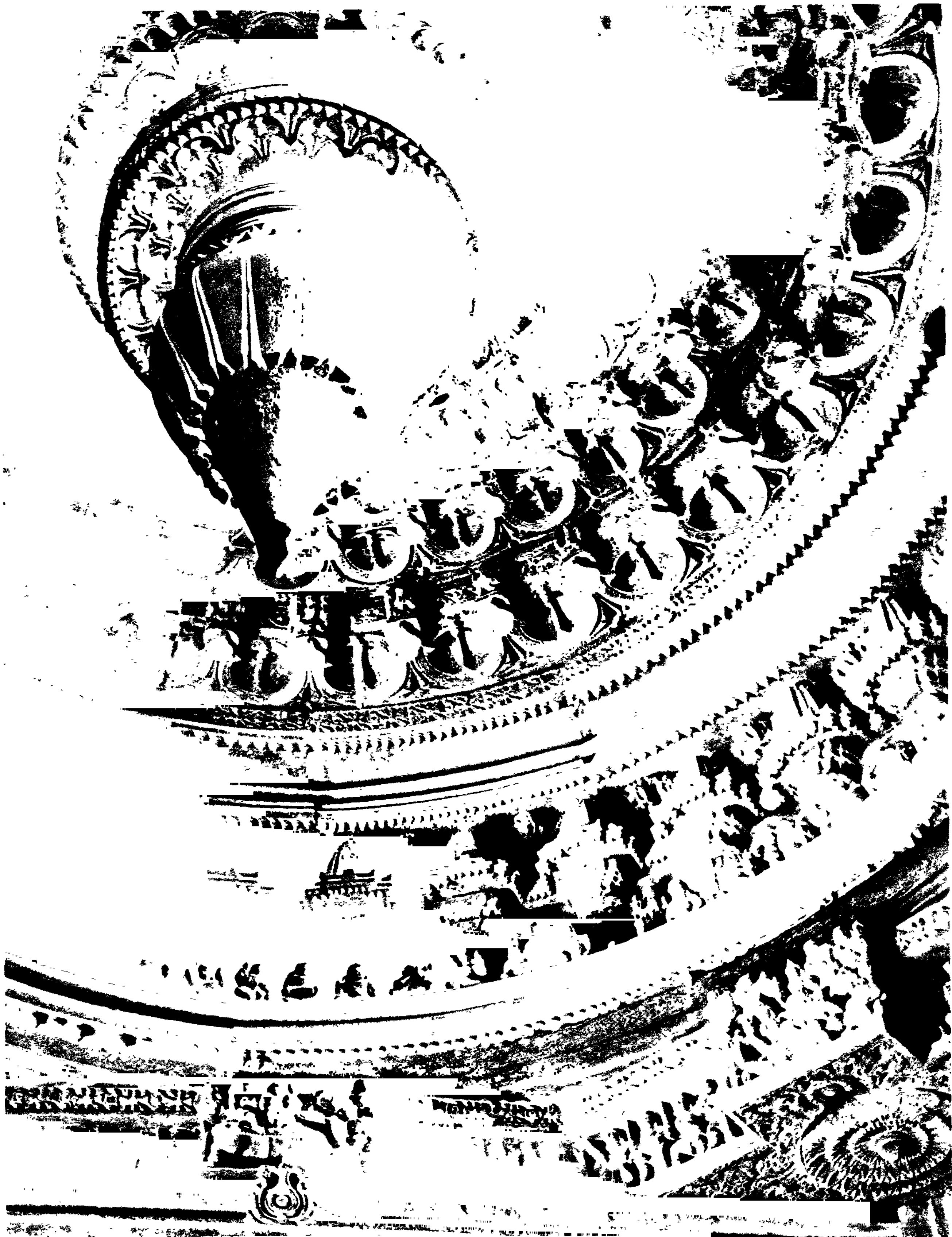


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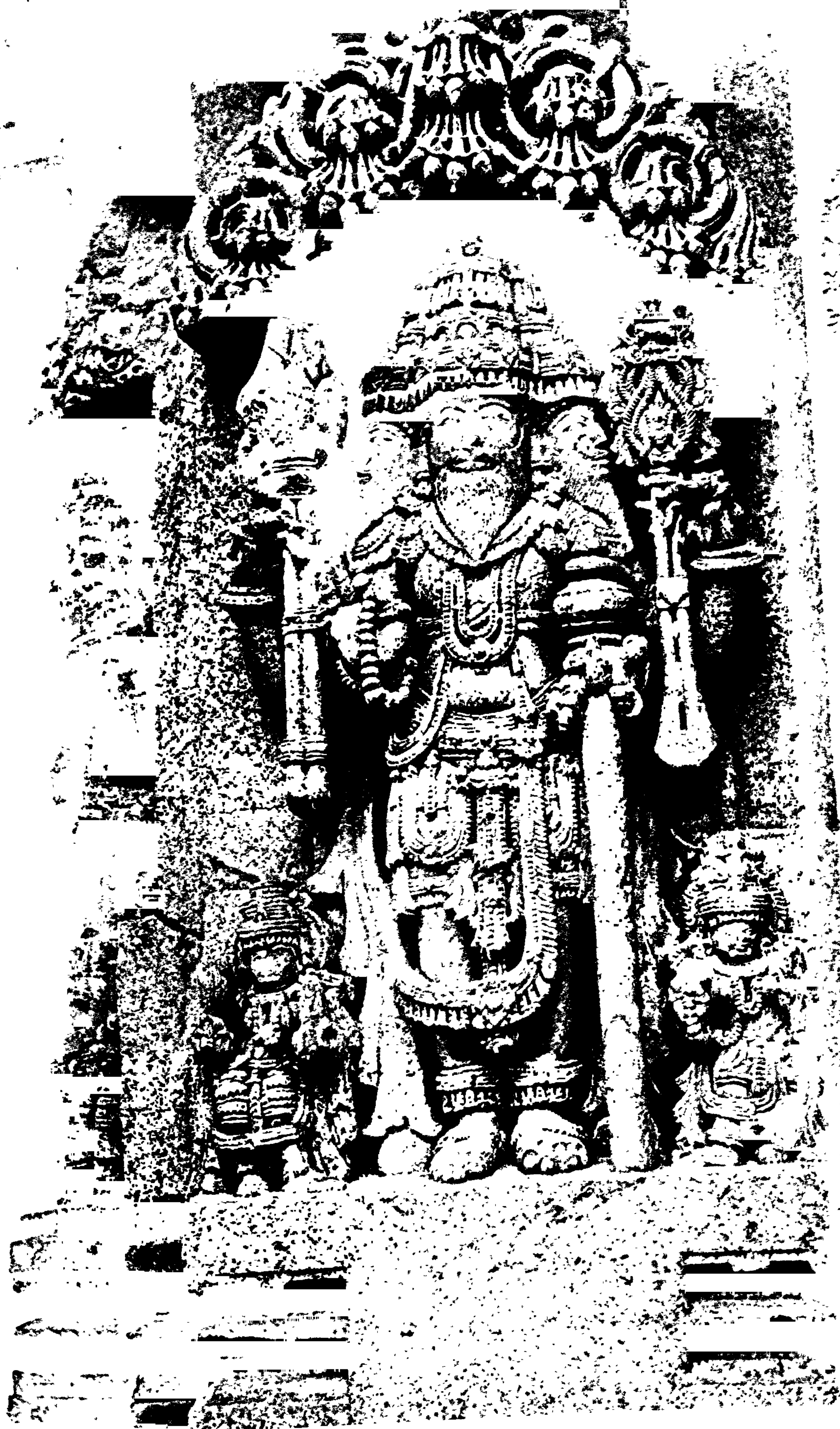


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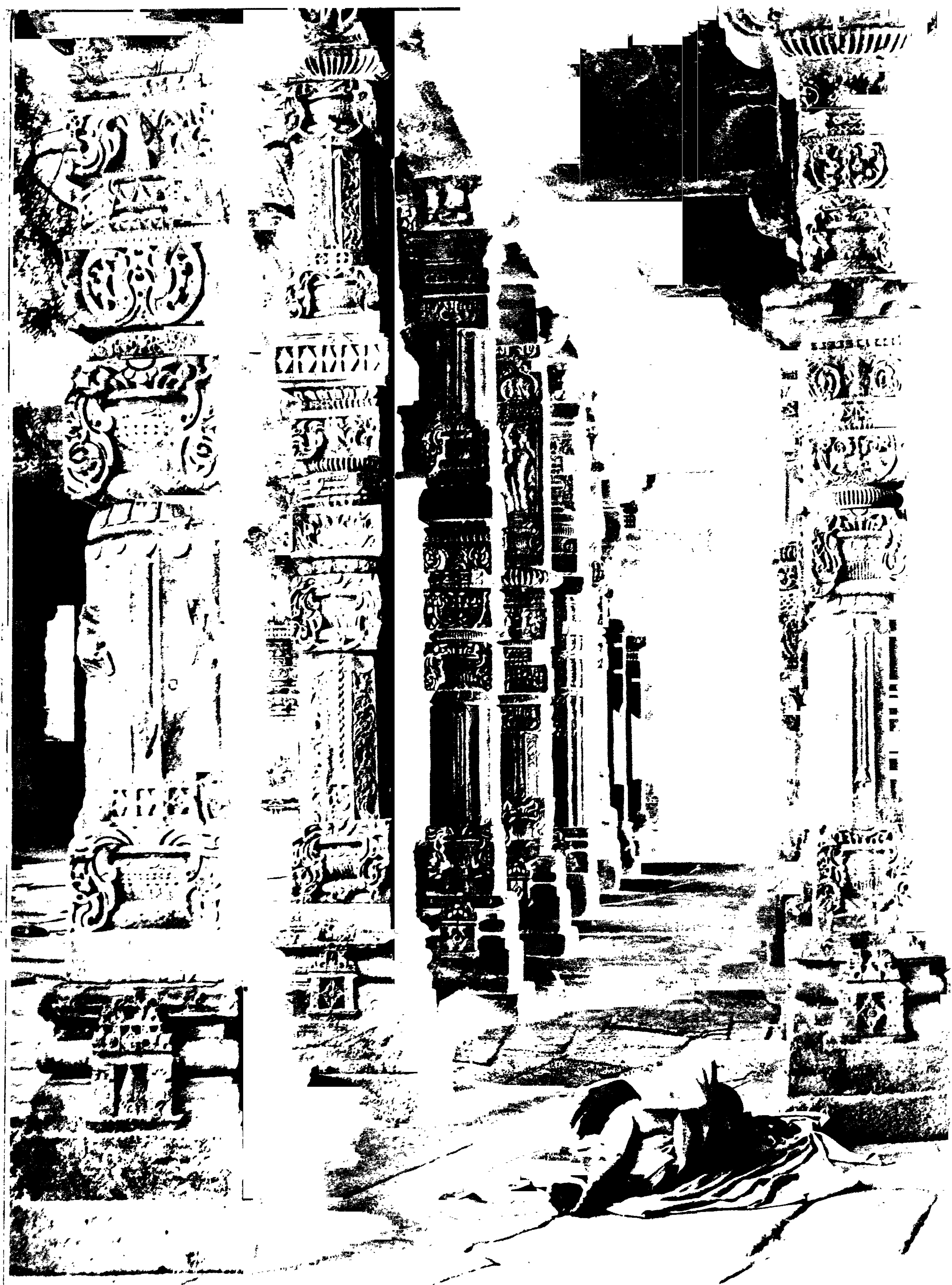


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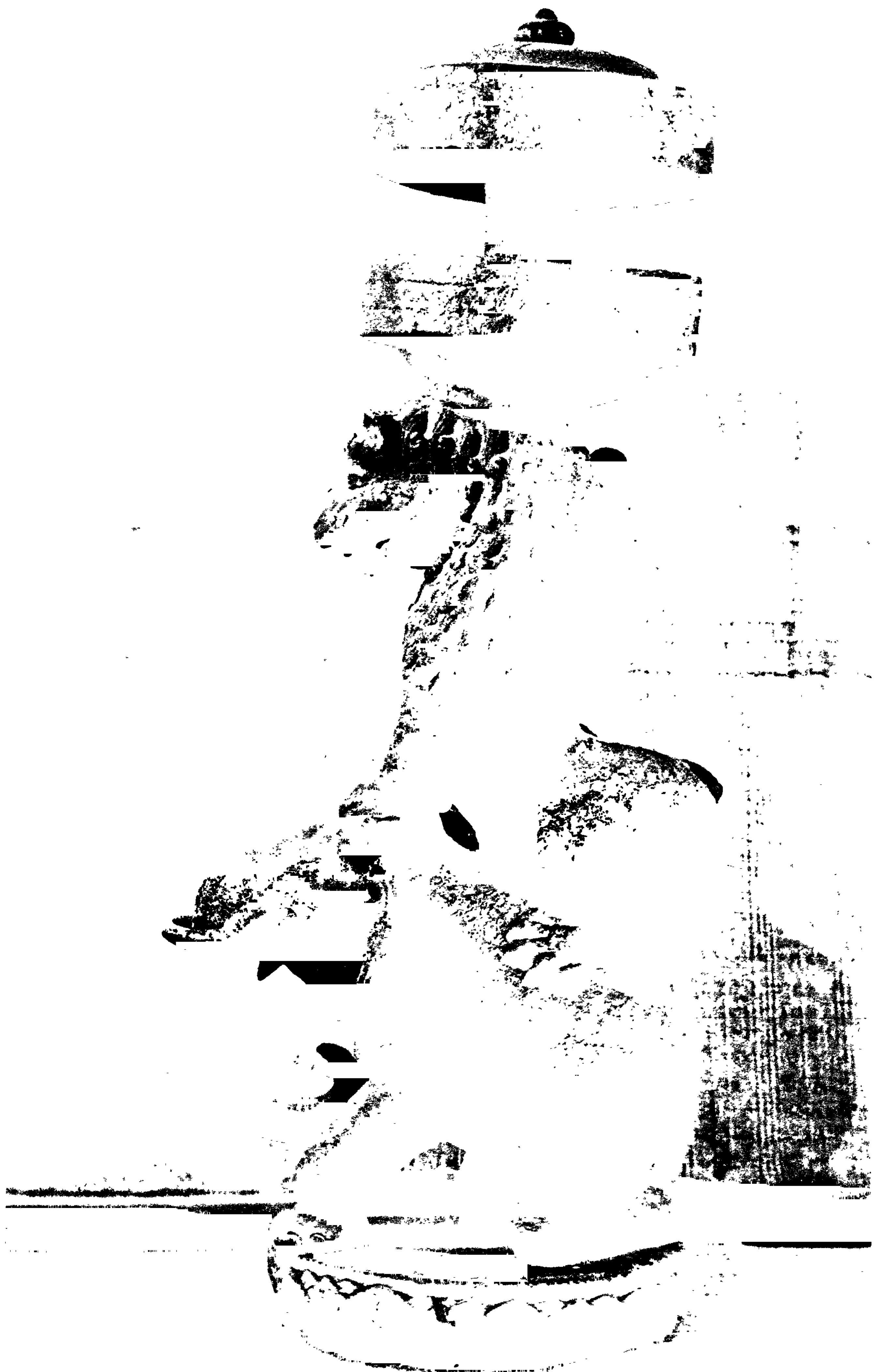
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INDO-MUSLIM ART

Muslim art was imported from Persia by the first conquerors and was soon smelted in the crucible of Indian art. There it lost its original purity, adapted itself to the Indian spirit and became the characteristic Indo-Muslim art. The elements which Islamic art borrowed from Indian art as regards building were courtyards surrounded by colonnades, balconies supported by brackets and, above all, decoration. Islam on the other hand, gave to India the dome and the true arch, geometric motifs, mosaics and minarets. The fusion of these two trends is most noteworthy in Indo-Muslim art and in certain regional styles. The imperial style of Delhi preserved the Persian and Turkish characteristics in their purest form, but with the aid of Indian craftsmen these too, evolved, and a special style resulted which can only be called Indian. The domes and minarets gained progressively in refinement. The decorative motifs, which were initially limited to inscriptions of Perso-Arabic letters, mingled with typically Indian decorations and motifs. The two styles, Indian and Indo-Muslim, remained separate on account of their fundamental conceptual differences, but it cannot be denied that the Muslim art of India belongs to that country since it acquired, in its contact with Indian art and traditions, certain characteristics which, as we shall see, marked it profoundly.

I. THE PRE-MOGHUL PERIOD

Under the yoke of Turkish, Persian and Afghan invaders who brought new art forms borrowed from Muslim Persia at the same time as their religion, Islam, a new era began in India. Thus, after an interval of 1500 years, Persia once more gave new life to Indian art. But in contrast with the first influx, the second, sustained by a religion which was opposed to Hinduism, preserved its artistic unity. The mere presence of Indian artisans was not enough for this style to become purely Hindu and it remained a blend in which the Persian strain continued strongest, since architects and sultans were attached to this form of art, peculiar to their religion. The Moghul emperor Akbar nevertheless attempted a synthesis, but this lasted no longer than its initiator. Nevertheless, the Muslims introduced some new artistic elements into the traditional Hindu style, even though this influence always remained secondary. The excellence of the Indian artisans, on the other hand, enabled the Muslims to construct grandiose monuments.

THE ART OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

A. The Slave Dynasty (1206-1290)

This dynasty was so named because its rulers had been Turkish slaves (to be a slave in that period in the Muslim world had no shameful connotation) who enjoyed their masters favour,

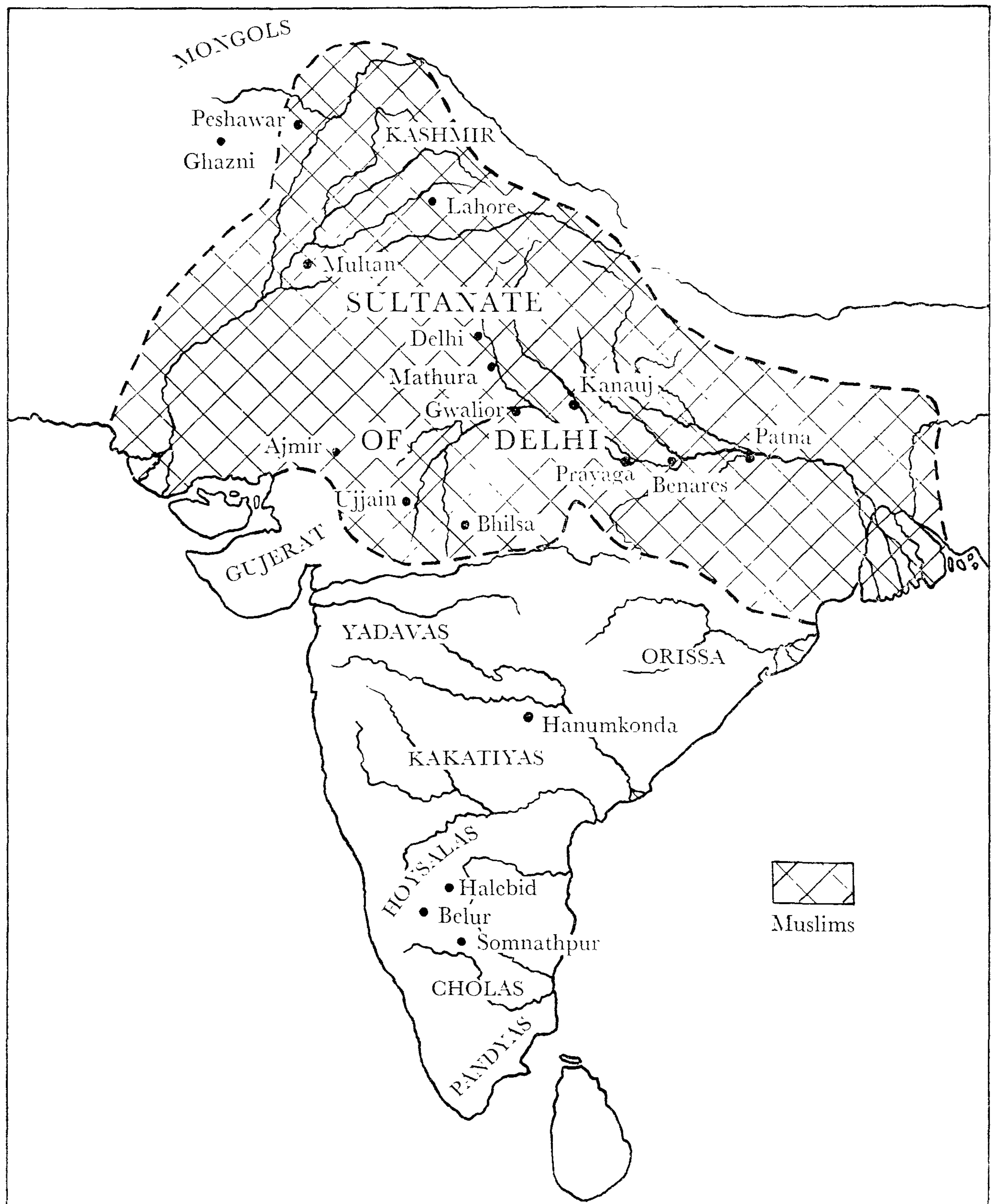


FIG. 36. INDIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 13TH CENTURY, DURING THE REIGN OF SULTAN ILTUTMISH

became their equals, and thanks to their own merits, eventually obtained their independence. Qutb-ud-Din, who died in 1210, left the throne to his son-in-law Iltutmish who was also a former Turkish slave. Immediately after his accession to power, his country was for the first time invaded by the Mongols who rushed down into the Panjab under the leadership of Gengiz Khan, after conquering China and Central Asia. The Mongols were repulsed. Iltutmish died in 1236. After a gloomy period Balban, a Turk who had escaped from the Mongols, re-established authority in 1266 with a reign of terror; but his weak successor again allowed anarchy to run wild. His general, an Afghan named Khalji, dethroned him and the Slave Dynasty came to an end.

351. QUTB MINAR, DELHI. As soon as he had gained his independence, Qutb-ud-Din had a large mosque built (see plate 353) from the remains of several Hindu temples, called the Quwwatul-Islam, as well as a gigantic minaret which he was unable to complete. Only its first story was erected. His successor Iltutmish built the following three. The fifth story was added by Firoz Shah Tughluq, after the building had been struck by lightning. In 1803 it was again damaged by an earth tremor and was repaired in the following years. It has 379 steps and is 243 feet high. At its foot one can still see the arcades of the wings of the Quwwatul-Islam mosque, built by Iltutmish.

352. DETAIL OF QUTB MINAR, DELHI. The surface of this immense minaret consists of vertical ribs, alternately circular and angular, for the first story; of only rounded ribs for the second and of only angular ones for the third. The other storeys are smooth. At regular intervals run horizontal bands inscribed with Nashk characters reproducing verses from the Koran, and friezes with floral and geometric decorations.

353. VIEW FROM THE QUTB, QUWWATUL-ISLAM MOSQUE, DELHI. Here we see the large central arch of the mosque which was originally erected by Qutb-ud-Din, part of the wings built by Iltutmish and his son's tomb on the right. The original mosque was small, measuring about 197 feet by 177 feet. Iltutmish extended its measurements to 360 feet by 262 feet. At a later date Ala-ud-Din Khalji enlarged it again but was unable to complete his grandiose project.

354. ARCH OF THE PRAYER HALL, QUWWATUL-ISLAM MOSQUE, DELHI. Ibn Batuta relates that before the conquest of Delhi there was a Hindu temple on this spot. The builders of the mosque made use of some of the foundations of this old temple, which had a simple rectangular ground-plan. This arch, in its sober elegance, is delicately decorated with friezes of words in Naskh characters and floral motifs. The pillar in the centre of the courtyard is Hindu, probably the *stambha* of some Vaisnavite temple. It is made of almost pure iron, is in the Gupta style and carries a Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century, recording that this pillar was erected on the Visnupada hill by a king named Chandra.

355. DETAIL OF THE ARCADE OF QUTB-UD-DIN, QUWWATUL-ISLAM MOSQUE, DELHI. The treatment of the floral decoration, clearly Hindu, seems to grove that Hindu craftsmen built this mosque.

356. TOMB OF THE SON OF ILTUTMISH, DELHI. There is no inscription which allows us to identify this tomb with certainty. Its ground-plan is square; the arches, arranged in an octagon, once supported a vault which has now disappeared. Apart from a few little details the decoration is entirely Persian. The whole interior surface is covered with a web of arabesques and letters in the Naskh, Kufic and Tughras scripts. The tomb is in red sand-stone. Only for the *mihrabs* and the cenotaph was white marble used. The exterior is simple and austere.

357. DETAIL OF THE WINGS, QUWWATUL-ISLAM, DELHI. These were made by Iltutmish. The style of the ornamentation is less influenced by Hindu characteristics; perhaps the Hindus were already more familiar with Arab writing and designs. As at the tomb of Iltutmish's son, the ornamentation is purely Islamic. The quoins of the uprights which support the arches are decorated with columns, a feature which persists later on, under the Moghul dynasties, in India. Pleasant patterns of Tughra writings and Kufic characters account for the bulk of the ornamentation.

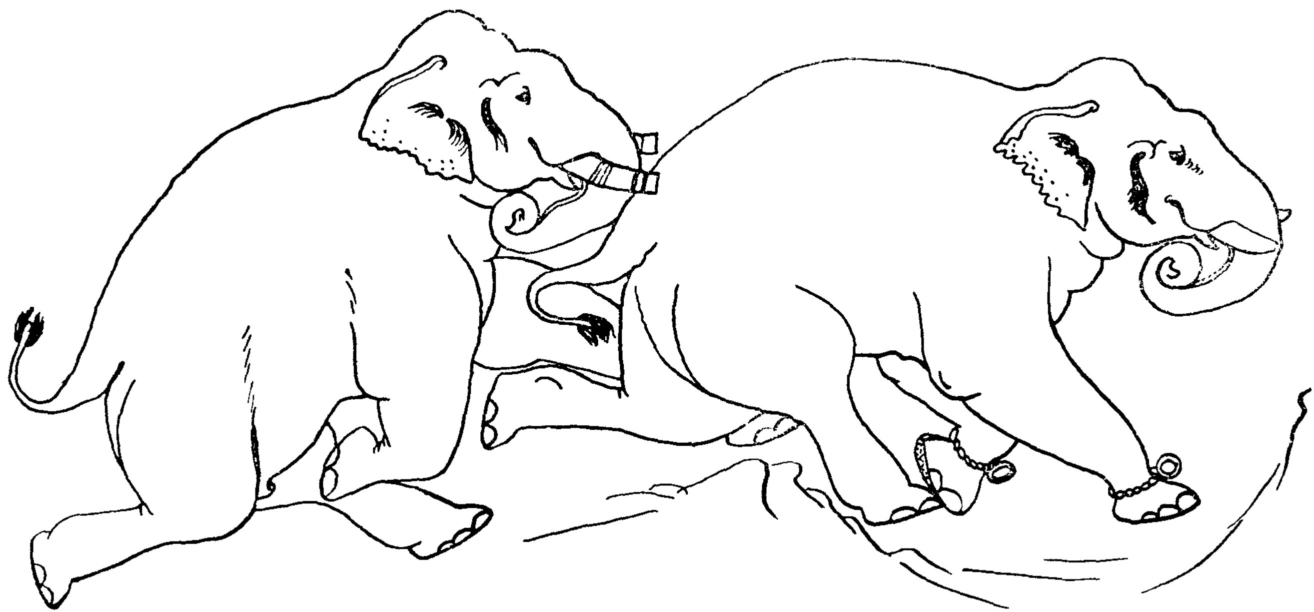


FIG. 37. SKETCH, MOGHUL PERIOD, 17TH CENTURY

B. The Khalji Dynasty (1290-1320)

Ala-ud-Din Khalji, the nephew of the founder of the Khalji dynasty, assassinated his uncle and took his place in 1296. With the aid of his general, Malik Kafur, he made incursions into the Deccan, returning to Delhi loaded with booty. The Mongols, who had come down as far as Delhi, besieged the town, whereupon Ala-ud-Din fortified his capital. He again enlarged the mosque founded by his predecessors and decorated it with a magnificent doorway. He also started to build near the Qutb Minar a minaret even larger than this, but died before it was completed. His only son, Mubarak, was assassinated in 1320 by Kusru Khan who, in turn was killed in the same year by a Turk from the Panjab, Ghyas-ud-Din Tughluq, who proclaimed himself sultan.

358. ALAÏ DARWAZA, DELHI, also called Ala-ud-Din Khalji's gate. It is a sort of large room in the form of a cube, surmounted by a flattened dome. It is made of red sand-stone and white marble. The facing doors, as well as the windows, are decorated with radiating stalactites. This door has been restored several times, not always in accordance with the original design which is now lost; this applies particularly to the façade.

359. INTERIOR, ALAÏ DARWAZA, DELHI. The dome is supported by successive horseshoe-shaped ogives. Here the arches are not corbelled but have key-stones. The whole surface of the interior walls is decorated with simple geometric designs.

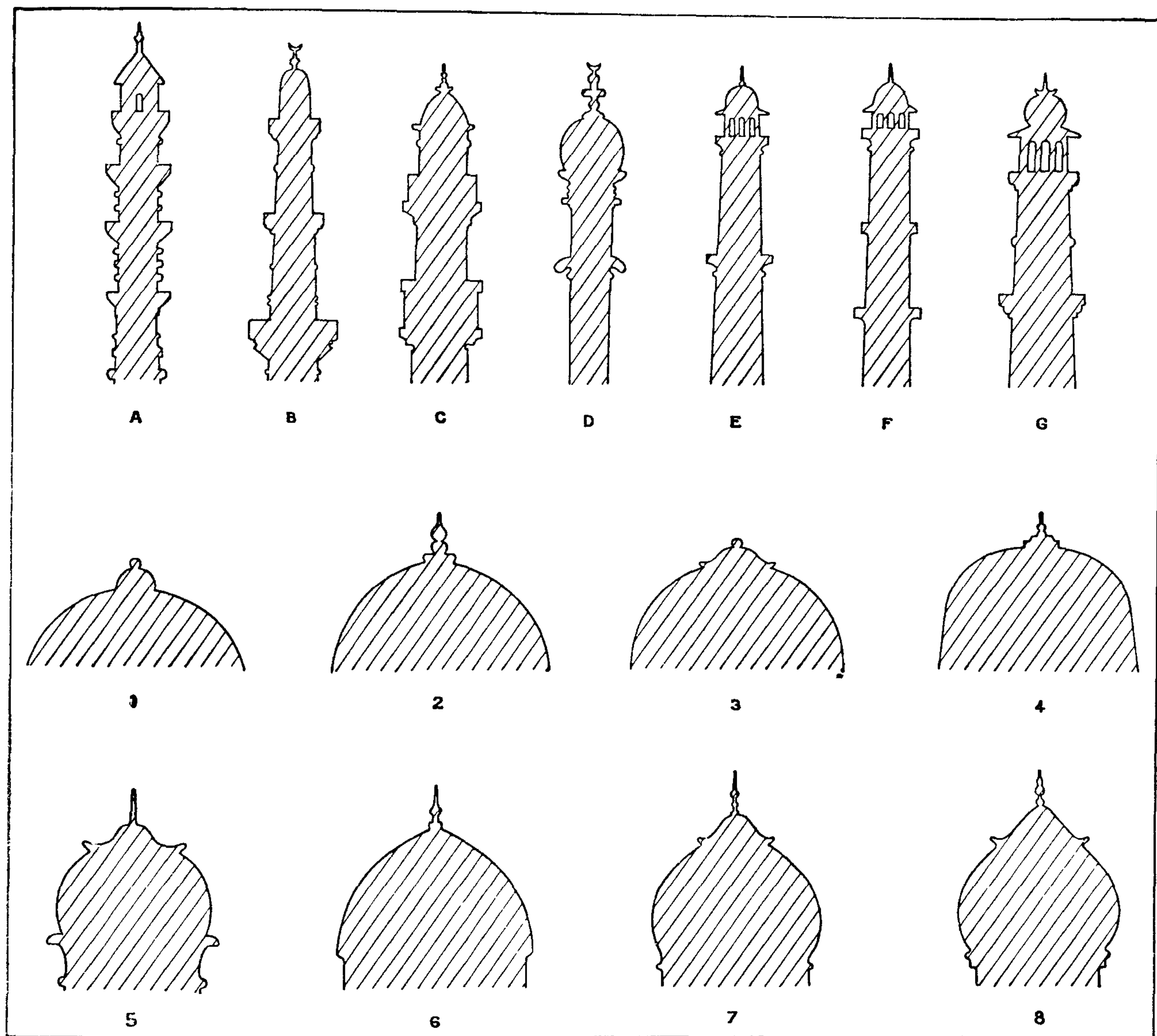


FIG. 38. THE EVOLUTION OF INDO-MUSLIM MINARETS AND DOMES
MINARETS: A AHMEDABAD, 1450; B. DAULATABAD, 1435; C. CHAR MINAR, 1591; D. BIJAPUR, 1575; E. JAMI MASJID, DELHI, 1644; F. TAJ MAHAL, AGRA, 1634; G. RABIA DAURANI, AURANGABAD, 1679
DOMES: 1. ALI DARWAZA, DELHI, 1310; 2. GHYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLUQ, 1325; 3. LODI, 1500; 4. GULBARGA, 1367; 5. BIJAPUR, 16TH CENTURY; 6. HUMAYUN, 1564; 7. TAJ MAHAL, AGRA 1634; 9. SAFDAR JANG, DELHI, 1753

C. The Tughluq Dynasty (1320-1412)

When Ghyas-ud-Din had firmly established his authority he began to build not far from Delhi a mighty fortified capital: Tughluqabad. Mohammed Tughluq succeeded him, moved his capital to Devagiri in the Deccan and changed its name to Daulatabad; subsequently he returned to Delhi. The viceroys began more and more to revolt against his tyranny and formed independent kingdoms (Bahmani, Bengal, etc.). Mohammed died in 1351, leaving the throne to his cousin Firoz. The empire slowly disintegrated. In 1397, under the leadership of Timur, the Mongols seized Delhi, pillaged it, caused terrible carnage and withdrew again. In 1413 Daulat Khan Lodi, and after him Khizr Khan, succeeded the last Tughluqs.

360. TOMB OF GHYAS-UD-DIN, DELHI. (1325). This is a massive structure, built to defy time. Constructed in red sand-stone, it has a cupola in white marble and measures almost 80 feet in height. The slope of the walls (they are at an angle of seventy-five degrees) augments the impression of height of this astonishing building. The plain walls delimit a little square room, 30 feet on each side, which contains the tomb of the old warrior, that of his wife and that of his son, Muhammed. The dome of this tomb inaugurates in India a series of pointed domes which were to become characteristic of Indo-Muslim architecture.

361. TOMB OF FIROZ SHAH, DELHI. This tomb lies among other tombs and various buildings which were erected during this period (about 1388-1400). It is without pretension and resembles the entrance of the Jami Masjid in the Fort. Above the square course, with its slightly inclined walls, a second octagonal course supports the dome which is very slightly pointed. A low wall of overlapping stones with tenon and mortise joints, and built on a little platform, surrounds the entrance to this tomb. Some inscriptions above the door were added at a later date by Sikandar Lodi.

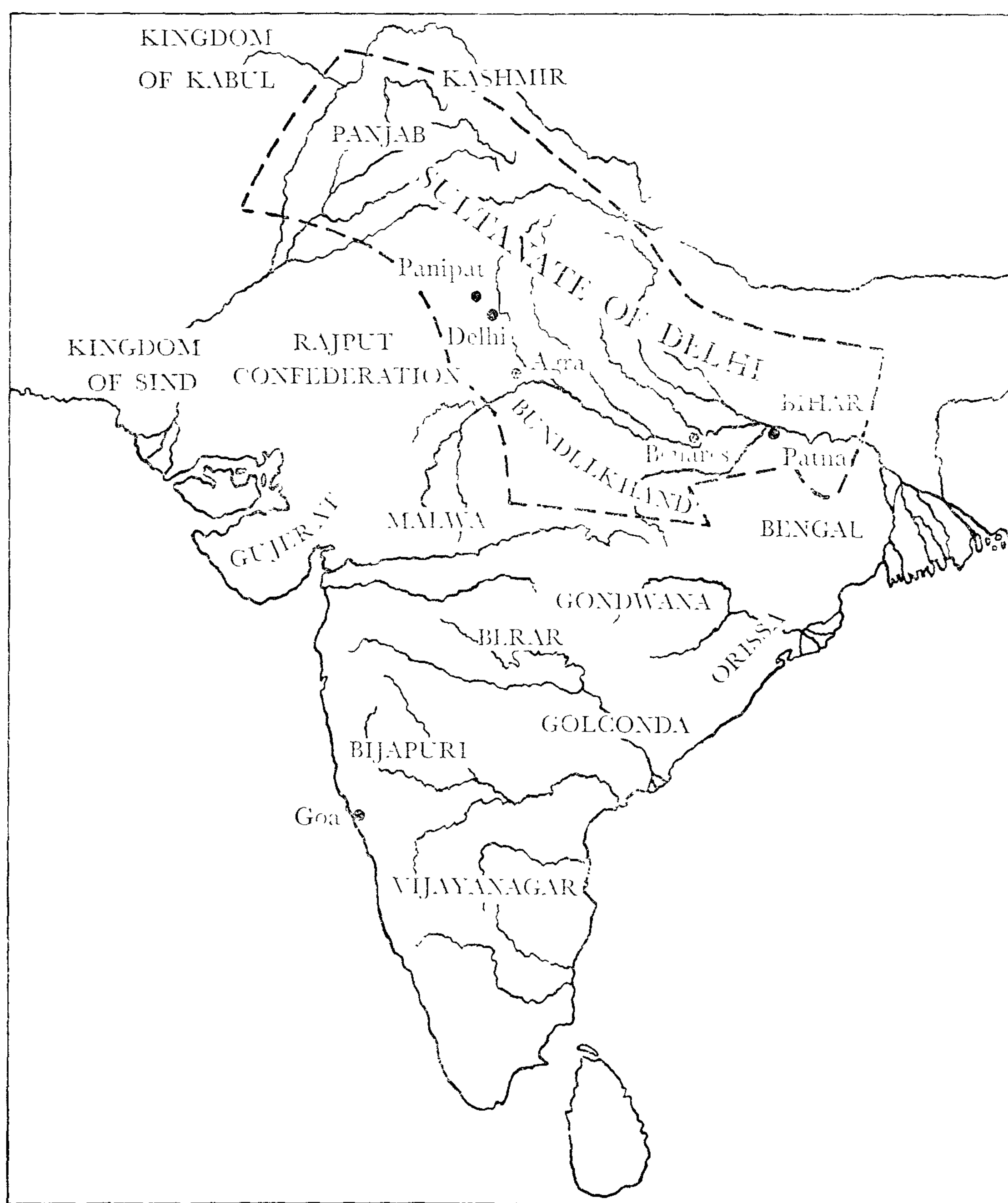


FIG. 89. INDIA AT THE END OF THE 15TH CENTURY, UNDER THE LODI DYNASTY

D. The Sayyid and Lodi Dynasties (1414-1526)

Khizr Khan, who claimed to be descended from the Prophet, was a vassal of Timur the Mongol, and Governor of the Panjab. When he founded the Sayyid dynasty, the Empire, torn by rebellions, had been reduced to the township of Delhi and a few neighbouring villages. Few conquests were undertaken by the four sultans of this dynasty who only just succeeded in maintaining their position a gainst the Hindus who were everywhere in revolt. The last Sayyid was incapable of reigning and abdicated in favour of Bulhul Lodi, a Khalji Turk who had come from Afghanistan in 1451. The latter re-assembled his troops and went to war. He took Jaunpur in 1479. His son, Sikandar Lodi, founded Agra. Later, under Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan governor of the Panjab revolted against Delhi and requested help from Babur, the Turkish ruler of Kabul. In 1524 Babur, who had a strong artillery force, defeated Ibrahim in the battle of Panipat, occupied Delhi and founded the Moghul dynasty.

362. ENCLOSURE WALL, TOMB OF SIKANDAR LODI, DELHI. During these troubled times even the dead needed to be protected: the very tombs were veritable fortresses, crenellated and provided with corner towers.

363. TOMB OF SIKANDAR LODI, DELHI. It has an octagonal ground-plan and is surrounded by a gallery, which is supported by arcades strengthened at each corner by buttresses. It was erected about the year 1519. The double dome, a little higher than the preceding ones, is built on a sixteen-sided collar, decorated with little towers. The decoration is very rudimentary.

364. THE SHISH GUMBAD MOSQUE, DELHI (1494). It has five arches and three domes. The arches are double or triple according to their position. It is a long low structure, without elegance. The open arches are too wide in relation to their height and tend to give an impression of being crushed under the too heavy mass of the domes.

365. DETAIL OF AN ARCH, SHISH GUMBAD MOSQUE, DELHI. The decoration, which consists of bands of well-executed Arabic letters, does not make the whole look any less massive. The successive revetment arches increase, if this is possible, the squashed appearance of the building.

366. TOMB OF ISA KHAN, DELHI (1547). Long after the disappearance of the Lodis the style of tombs remained more or less similar to the two types described above. Only the details were changed and the decoration improved a little. But the principles remained the same, in spite of the bell-towers which were added to the platform supporting the dome.

INDO-MUSLIM ART OF GUJERAT

The Hindu and Arab kingdoms of Gujerat were brought within the imperial power in 1297 by Ala-ud-Din Khalji. One hundred years later a Rajput, converted to Islam, occupied the throne of Gujerat under the name of Muzzafar Shan. For almost two centuries, until 1527 when Akbar finally annexed Gujerat, this region was in permanent strife with neighbouring kingdoms, the Portuguese and the Moghuls. The dynasties which succeeded one another in Gujerat erected monuments over practically all the region, as well as mosques and tombs at Ahmadabad, their capital.

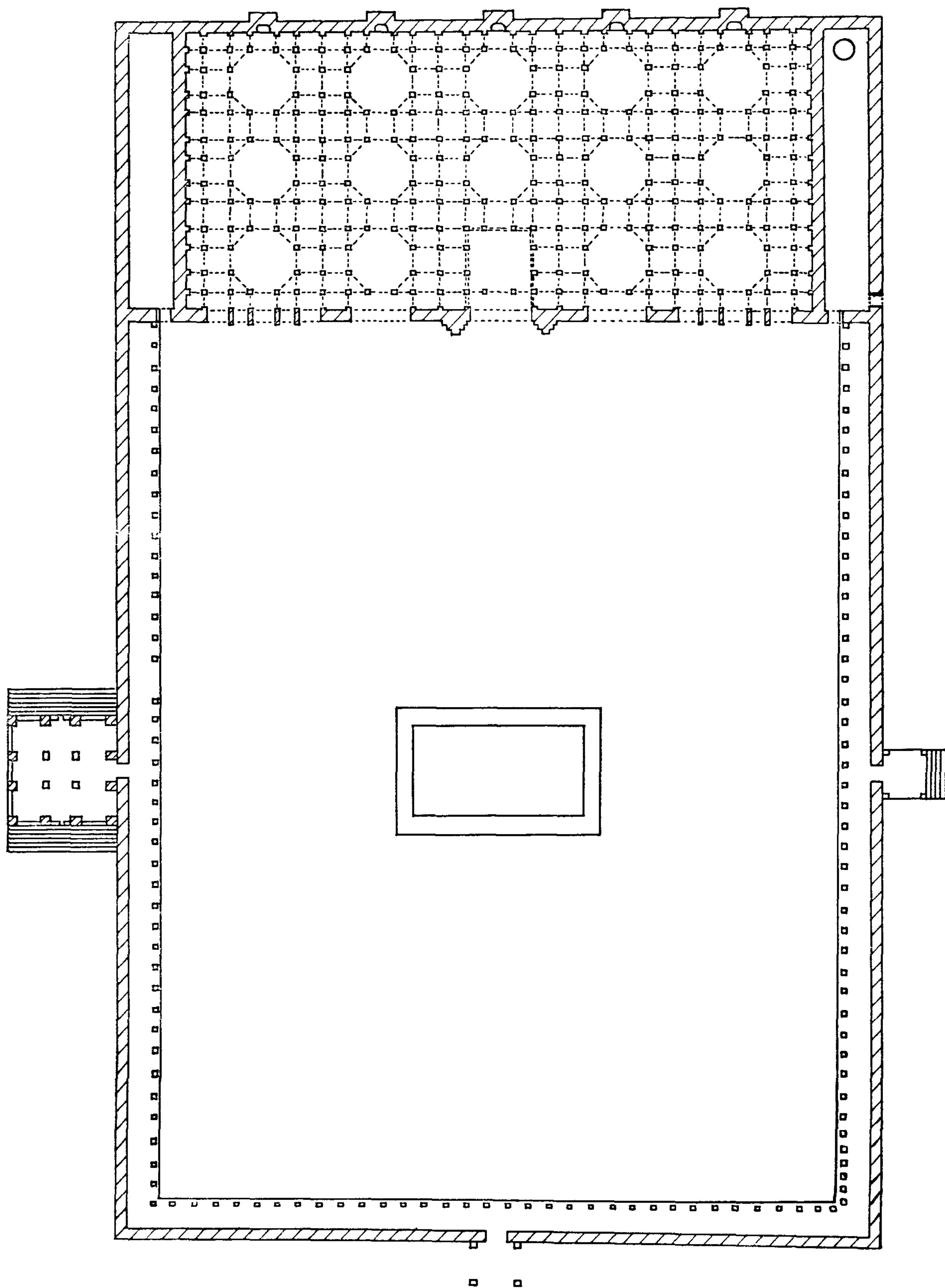


FIG. 40. PLAN OF THE JAMI MASJID OF AHMEDABAD

367. TIN DARWAZA, AHMEDABAD. Detail of the decoration of the façade. This important triumphal arch was erected by Ahmed Shah I, who in 1411 founded the town which bears his name.

368. JAMI MASJID, AHMEDABAD. Erected in 1423, this mosque is unique in India on account of the design of the interior and of the façade. The latter has three bays, the centre one being framed by two towers which are similar to those which decorate the pillars of the Tin Darwaza. The three bays give on to a vast rectangular courtyard of 250 feet by 215 feet with, in its centre, a tank. The mosque itself is three storeys high in the centre, two in the wings and one in the side galleries. It has almost three hundred pillars, spaced at intervals of less than seven feet, which support the domes of the roof. Although its inspiration is Muslim, this arrangement, as well as the decoration, is purely Hindu.

369. JAMI MASJID, AHMEDABAD. Decorative detail of the doorway. Compare with that of the Tin Darwaza (plate 367).

370. SIDI SAYYID MOSQUE, AHMEDABAD. This is one of the last monuments in the Gujerat style. The structure embodies nothing remarkable and is in fact rather unsophisticated. The interest of this mosque lies rather in its marble fretted windows which, with thei: floral motifs, may be counted among the most delicately chiselled in the world.

INDO-MUSLIM ART OF THE DECCAN

A Turkish officer named Hassan, who when he became independent assumed the name Ala-ud-Din Bahman, founded in the 15th century an independent kingdom in the Deccan. He made his capital at Gulbarga which he endowed with very strong fortifications on the model of crusader castles in the Near East, using the talents of foreign architects. Some of the rulers of Gulbarga, as well as the mercenaries in their service, belonged to the Shiah sect. After the death of Muhammad Shah, who was the greatest ruler of the dynasty, the capital was transferred to Bidar, and then to Golconda and the Bahmani kingdom disintegrated. The Deccan was then divided into five heretical kingdoms: Bijapure, Golconda, Bidar, Berar and Ahmednagar (1526). Bijapur attained its greatest glory under the dynasty of Adil Shah who was responsible for the largest monuments of the town. At Golconda, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah fortified the town; his successor founded Hyderabad. The fort is at present in ruins but the necropolis of the seven Shah rulers, not far from the town, remains as a magnificent testimony of the art of these sultans. After a siege of ten years, Golconda at last fell and surrendered to Aurangzeb who finally added the Deccan to the Moghul empire.

A. The Art of the Bahmanis

371. GENERAL VIEW, JAMI MASJID, GULBARGA. It was built in 1367 by an architect named Rafi who came from northern Persia. It is the only example in India of an entirely covered mosque. Its style, also unique, is very pure. It measures 213 feet by about 170 feet and has sixty-eight cupolas. Those on the corners are larger than the others and the cupola above the prayer hall, elevated on a high square base, has a drum beneath the dome. The exterior is massive and without any decoration. The entrance, in the centre of the north wall, has an arch which is higher than the roof and is flanked by two little minarets.

372. JAMI MASJID, GULBARGA. View of the cupolas by the north gate. At the back can be seen the remains of the donjon of the fortress and its ramparts.

373. INTERIOR, JAMI MASJID, GULBARGA. The arches begin to curve very near their base and are very wide. They have great elegance and their bareness endows them with real majesty. Yet this powerfully original style had no success as it did not conform with the canons hitherto accepted by Muslim orthodoxy. It nevertheless exerted some influence on Shiah architecture in the Deccan, particularly on constructional details.



FIG. 41. THE DECCAN SULTANATES IN THE 16TH CENTURY

B. The Art of Bijapur.

The town of Bijapur was founded in the 16th century by Yussuf Adil Shah, the son of Sultan Murad of Turkey. After defeating Vijayangara in several bloody expeditions and destroying their capital, Ibrahim Adil Shah (1579–1626) extended the power of Bijapur over nearly the whole Deccan. In 1686 its last sultan was deposed by Aurangzeb.

374. MEHTAR MAHAL, BIJAPUR. This building is misnamed, for it is the entrance to a little mosque. It presents several architectural novelties: the porch-roof, the brackets and ceilings, which remained unique. This entrance has two storeys and a terrace, decorated with a fretted stone parapet. The exterior is bare but, in contrast, the ceilings and the brackets of the balconies are very elaborately worked. Two delicate minarets mark this entrance. The porch-roofs are very large here and take an important place. It was built under Ibrahim Shah II in 1620.

375. CEILING, MEHTAR MAHAL, BIJAPUR. The ceiling is coffered. Its great curiosity is that it has very long "beams" (20 feet for one single span). The stones forming the beams are held together only with cement and virtually hang in the void. It is an architectural feat which has astonished many European architects. Each panel is separate and decorated differently from the others.

376. MEHTAR MAHAL, BIJAPUR. Detail of a bracket. The brackets supporting the balconies and porch-roofs of this curious building are worked like wood and look like flat carved panels. The motifs of their decoration are typically Hindu: horses, fantastic beasts, or, as here, wild geese.

377. MOSQUE OF THE TOMB OF IBRAHIM RAUZA, BIJAPUR. It is in the same style as the tomb itself, built on a square ground-plan, and standing on the same platform. The main characteristics of this tomb and its mosque are the tapering minarets which end in domes which are almost globes, supported by open petals forming a collar, and the large number of brackets supporting the porch-roofs. It was built by Ibrahim Adil Shah I in 1615. The interior as well as the exterior are very ornate with arabesques and inscriptions. The ceiling is coffered. The dome of the tomb is double.

378. DETAIL OF THE PORCH-ROOFS, BIJAPUR. They are of the stalactite-type and interconnected by cross-pieces. Grey basalt.

379. GOL GUMBAD, BIJAPUR. This is one of the most audacious monuments India has produced. Designed as the tomb for sultan Mohammed Adil Shah, in 1660, it is one of the largest single architectural units in the world. It is a perfect cube of 200 feet on each side and has an enormous dome with a diameter of 142 feet, almost as big as that of St. Peter's at Rome. At each corner of the building there is a seven-storied tower. These towers are interconnected at the level of their fifth story by wide porch-roofs, supported by a large number of brackets. Each tower is surmounted by a dome with a foliated base, smaller versions of the central dome. Inside, the square lay-out becomes octagonal at the level of the interior gallery, owing to the intersection of the arches. The brick and mortar dome is 10 feet thick and rests directly on the walls of this gigantic hall. A row of arcades, three on each side, decorates the walls of the tomb which are otherwise relatively bare. Grey basalt.

380. GOL GUMBAD, BIJAPUR. Close-up, showing the porch-roofs, the brackets and the upper portion of a corner tower.

381. EXAMPLE OF ARABIC INSCRIPTION, BIJAPUR. This inscription, dating from 1582, is embellished with floral decorations. Polished basalt.

C. The Art of Golconda

382. FORT OF GOLCONDA

383. CHAR MINAR, HYDERABAD, or The Four Minarets. According to tradition, this gate was erected in 1591 in order to thank Allah for having saved the town from the plague then ravaging the area. It has four entrances and contains a little mosque on its first story. It measures 100 feet on each side at its base. The minarets reach a height of 185 feet. These storied minarets are reminiscent of those of the Gol Gumbad of Bijapur, but they are much more graceful and their style is more refined. On the other hand, the abundance of ornamentation spoils the total effect.

384. CHAR MINAR, HYDERABAD. Detail of the corner and of the exterior decoration.

385. TOMB OF SULTAN KULI QUTB SHAH, GOLCONDA. Erected in 1612. The dome of this tomb is related

to that of the tomb of Ibrahim Rauza of Bijapur. The mausoleum is the oldest of those built in Golconda. It has columns in the characteristic Hindu style on each side. In subsequent tombs this feature is replaced by a series of Muslim arches, and the style also becomes simpler, but the dome and the general form of the tombs remain the same.

THE AFGHAN PERIOD OF SHER SHAH SURI

Zaher-ud-Din, also called Mohammed Babur, conquered Delhi and founded the Moghul dynasty; his son Humayun occupied Agra. The empire of the North seemed to be reborn and when Babur died he left an immense empire to Humayun. But the Afghan ruler of Bihar, Sher Shah, revolted and in 1540 defeated Humayun who was forced to take refuge in Persia. Sher Shah Suri became emperor and reorganised the empire; he gave it a healthy administration, built himself a grandiose tomb at Sasaram, his capital, and died in 1553. Humayun, who had taken Kabul in 1544, reconquered Delhi. A few months afterwards he died through an accident and his son Akbar seized power. The Moghul dynasty was now well established. The period of fifteen years during which Sher Shah reigned, had formed, from the point of view of architecture, a sort of transitional period. The Suri style, in fact, derives from the Lodi style of which it preserves the main characteristics.

386. TOMB OF ALAWAL KHAN, SASARAM. This tomb is of the Lodi type, but more ambitious and shows efforts to improve the style. It is octagonal and no longer rests on a plinth; its pyramidal effect is heightened by the high base of the cupola. The walls no longer incline but are vertical. This tomb was built a few years before that of Sher Shah, of which it is, in a way, a trial version.

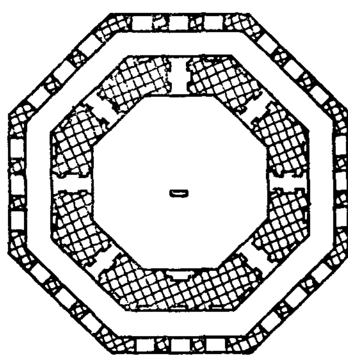


FIG. 42. PLAN OF THE TOMB OF ALAWAL KHAN

387. TOMB OF SHER SHAH SURI, SASARAM (1540). Although this tomb derives from the preceding one, it is remarkable for its dimensions and its proportions. With a height of 150 feet its diameter is 245 feet. It stands on a high square platform in the middle of an artificial lake of 460 yards square. Built in Chunnar sand-stone it was painted with bright colours, yellow, blue, black, and its dome was dazzling white. A boat used to connect the tomb with the shore. The whole is massive but not without grace. Its pyramidal aspect gives it a stability which may truly be qualified as grandiose.

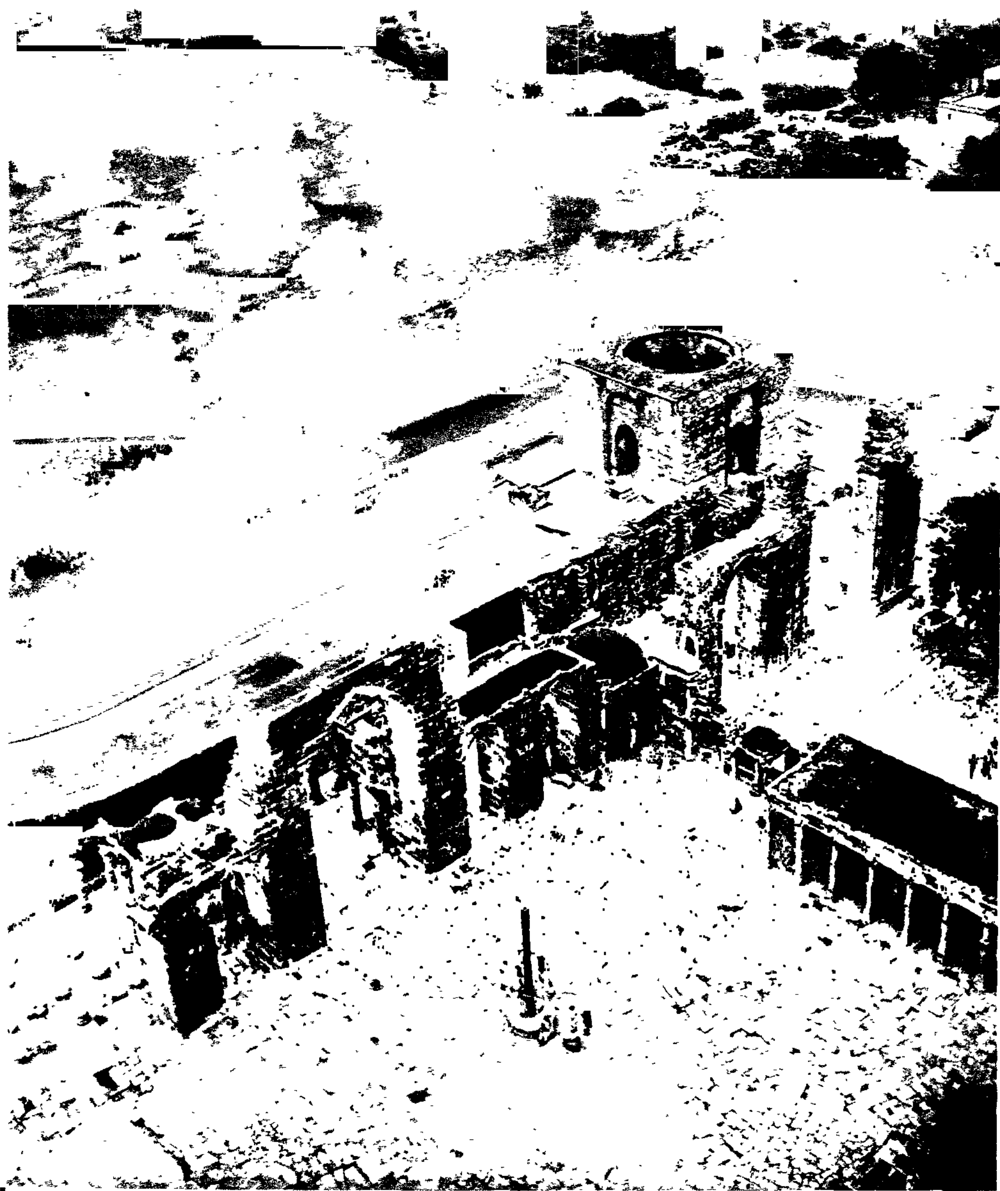
388. EXTERIOR VIEW, MOSQUE, PURANA QILA, DELHI. It does not differ essentially from the Lodi mosques but is an improvement on them. On each corner of the rear end of the building is an octagonal tower with porch-roofs. Its dome is purely Lodi, but Sher Shah used marble and sand-stone for the construction which relieved a little the austerity of this type of mosque. It measures 155 feet by 43 feet and rises 65 feet above the ground. Its façade has five large bays opening on to a little garden with a pond.

389. INTERIOR, MOSQUE OF SHER SHAH, DELHI. Although the arches are wide, they are very well proportioned. The ornamentation is reduced to a minimum; only the *mihrabs* are very ornate. The style of this mosque is oddly reminiscent of that of some of the French abbeys of the 15th century.





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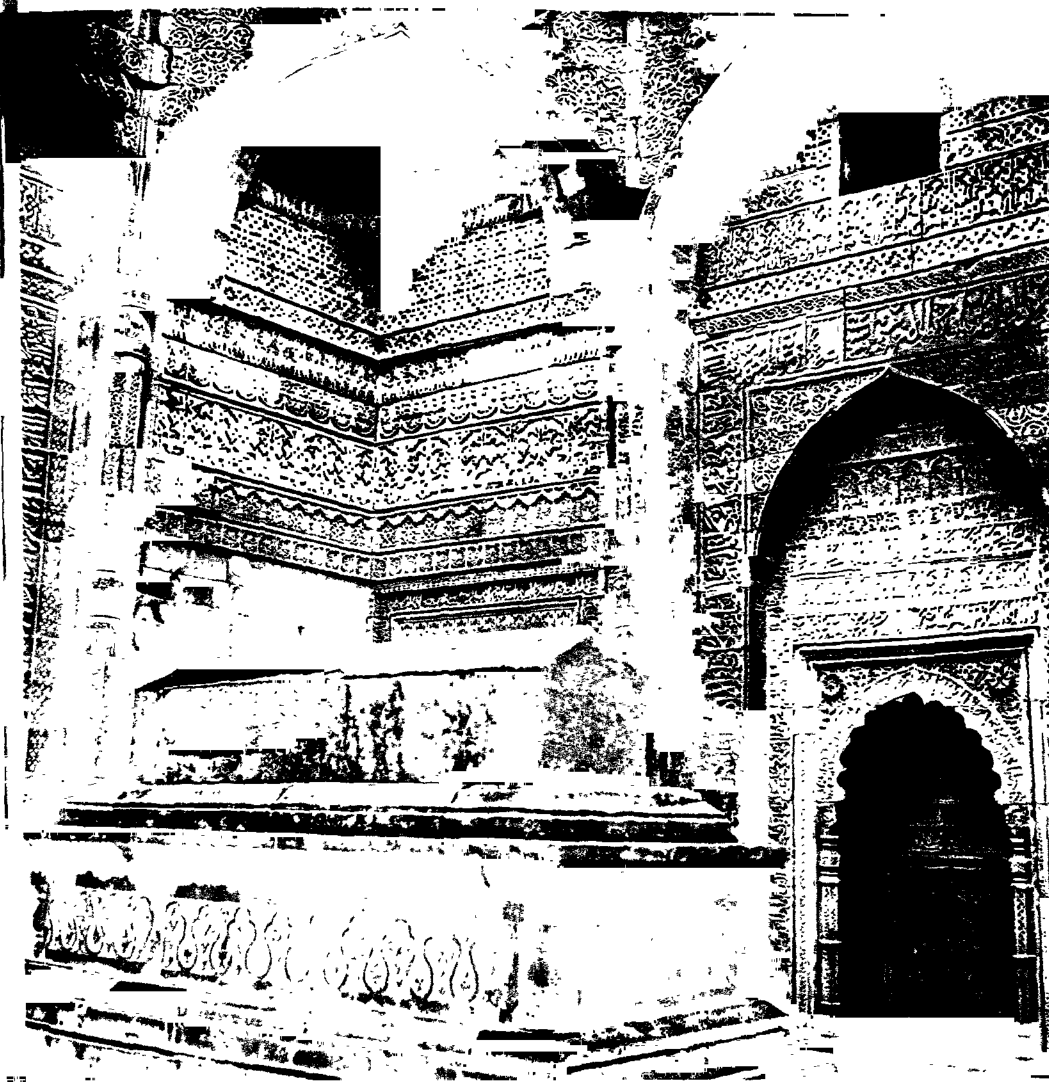


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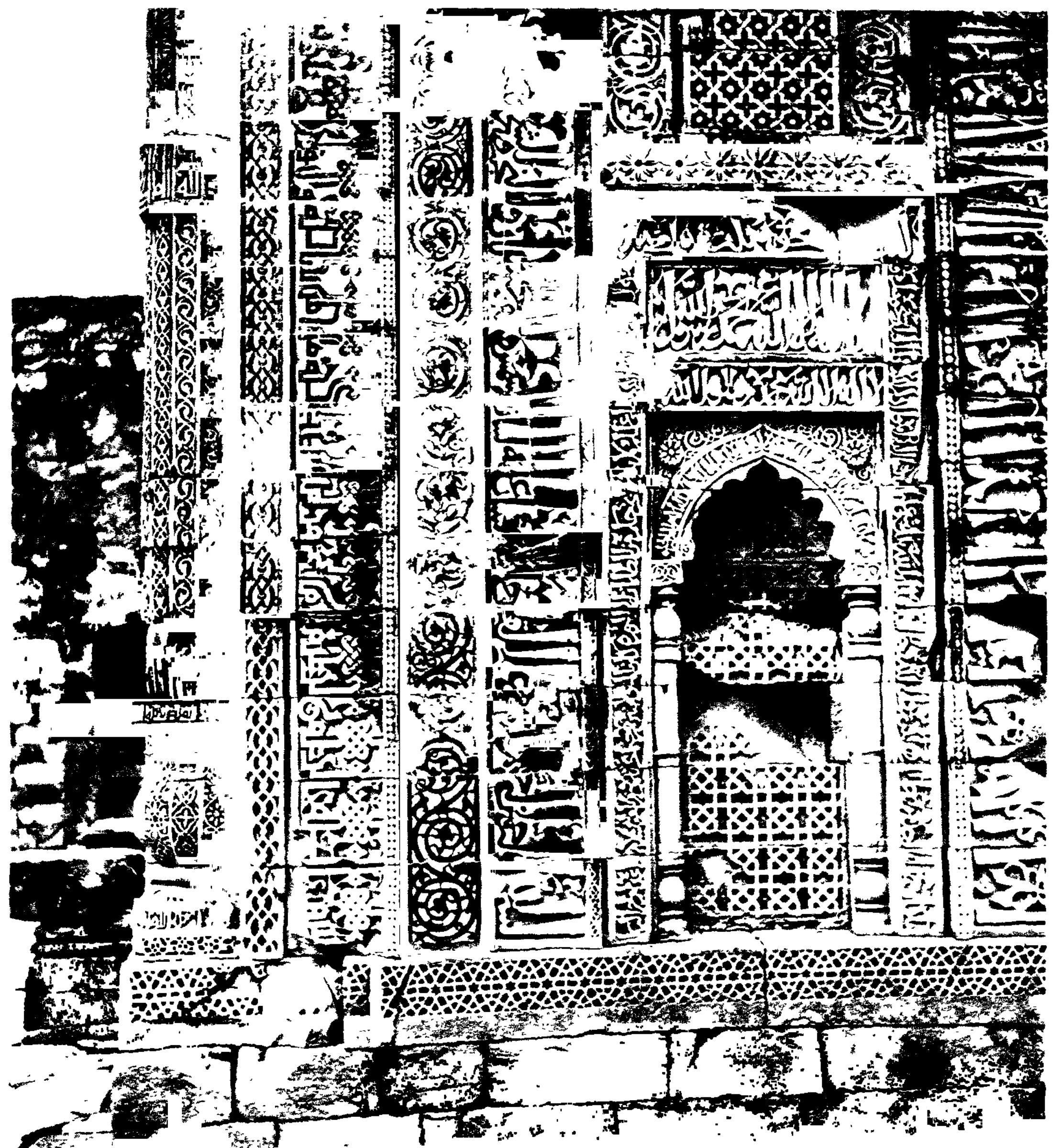
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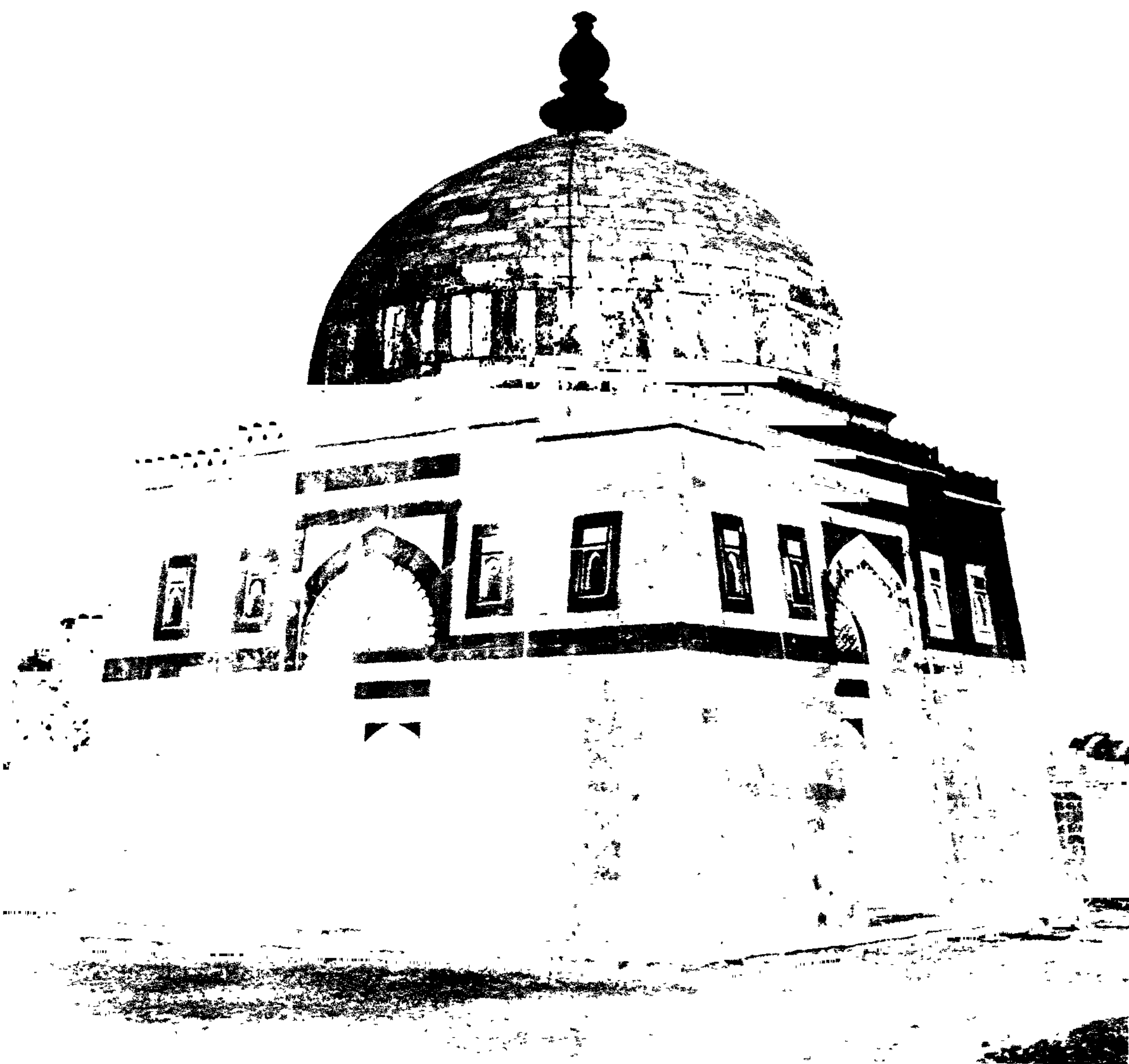


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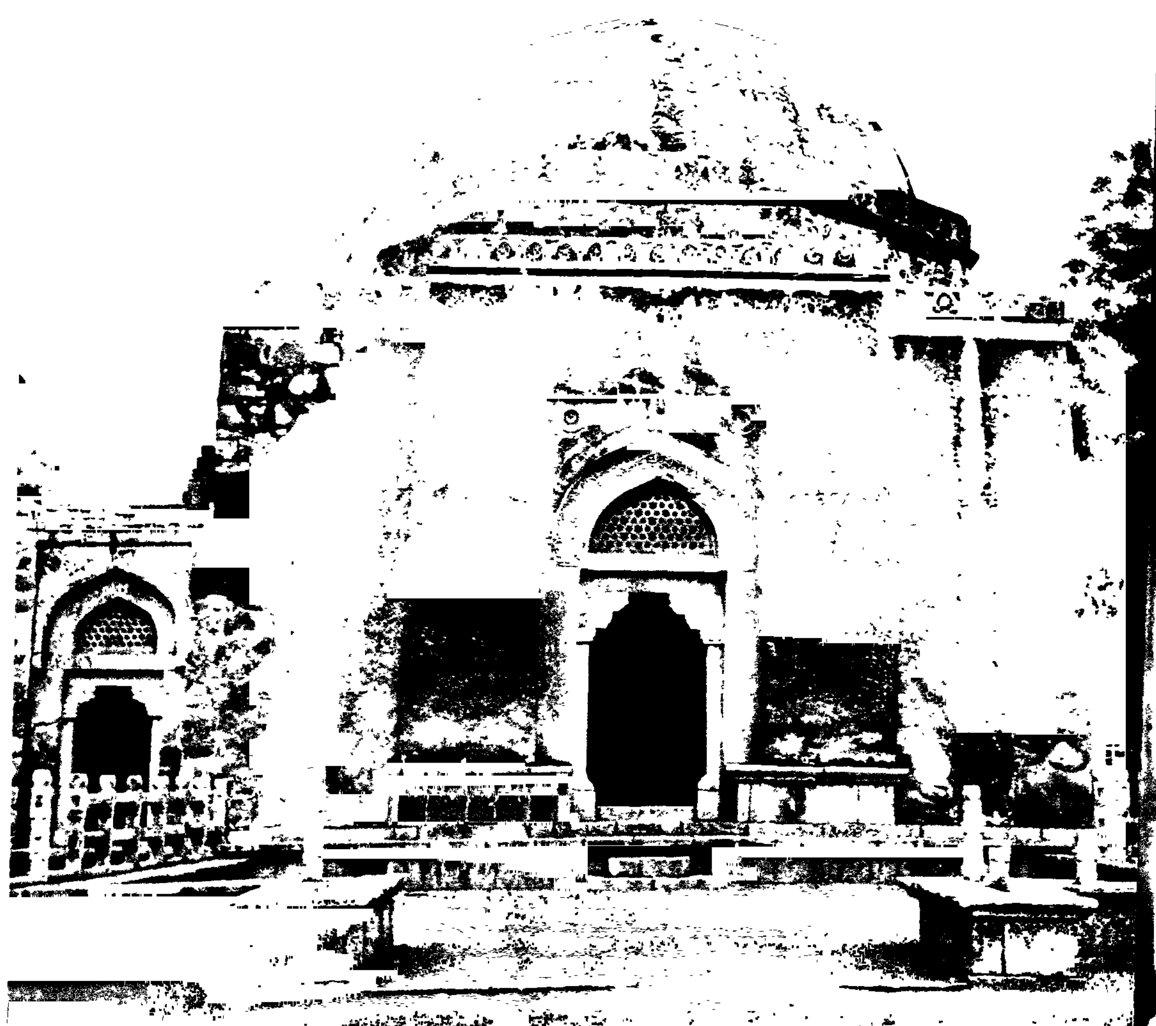
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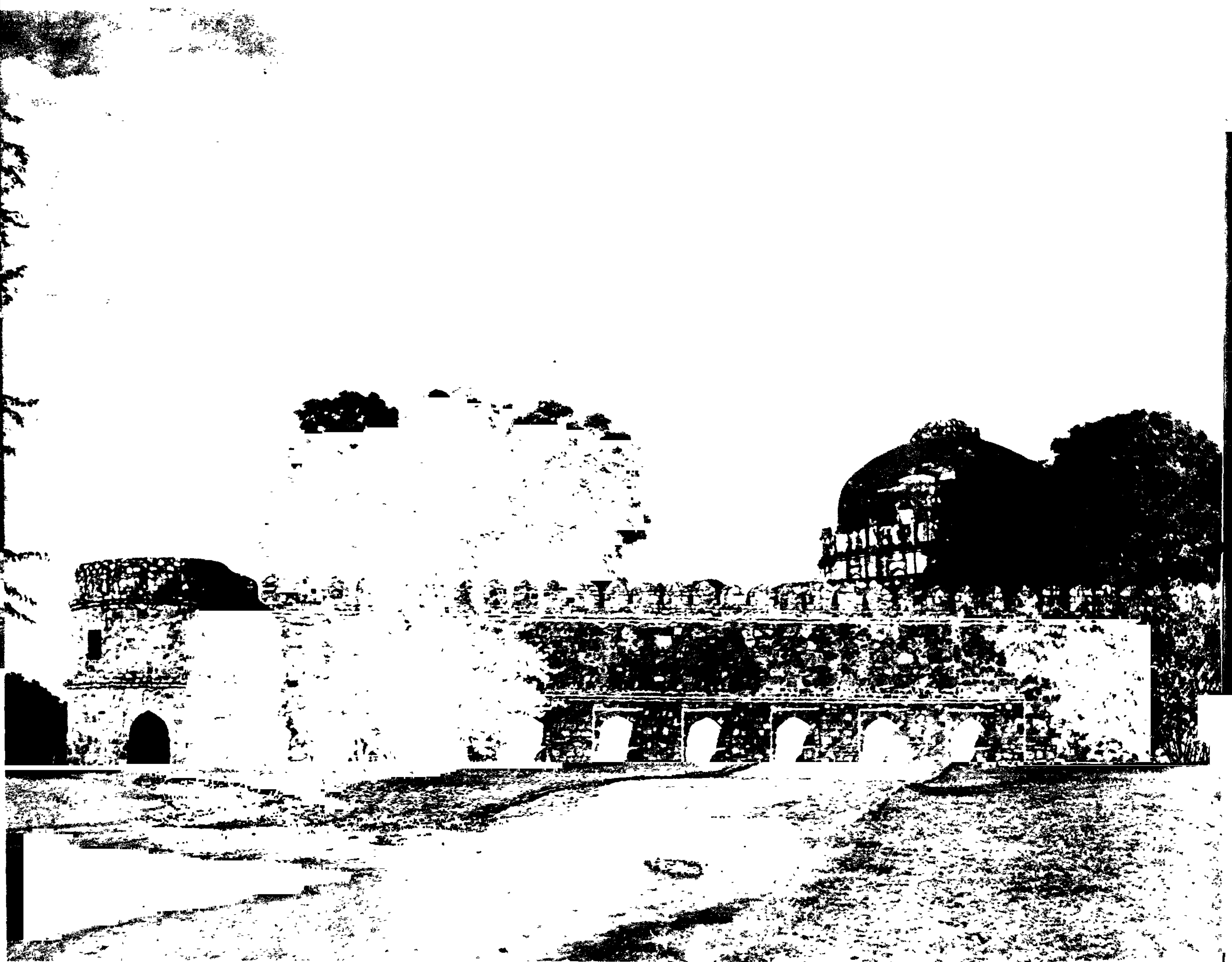
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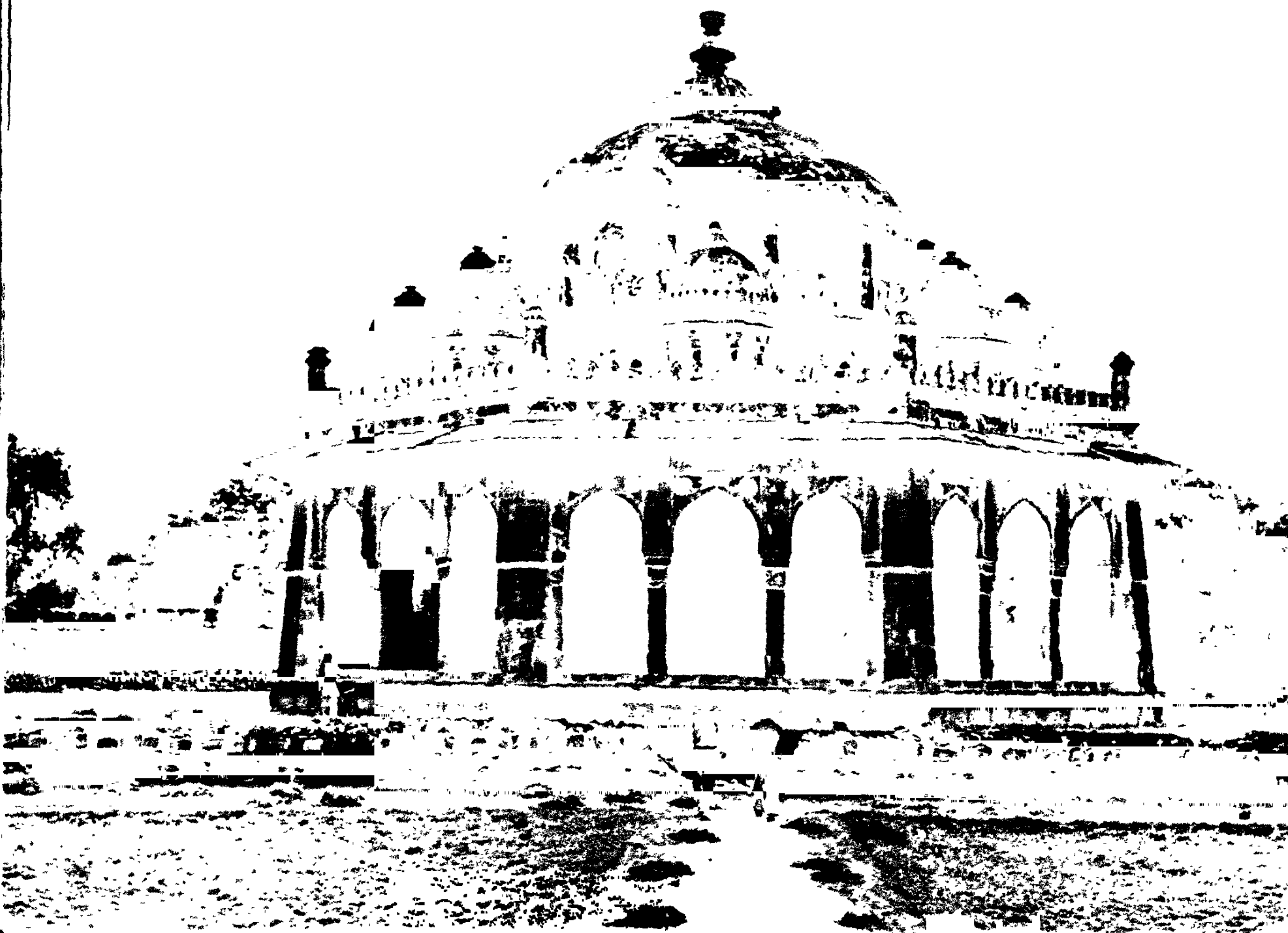
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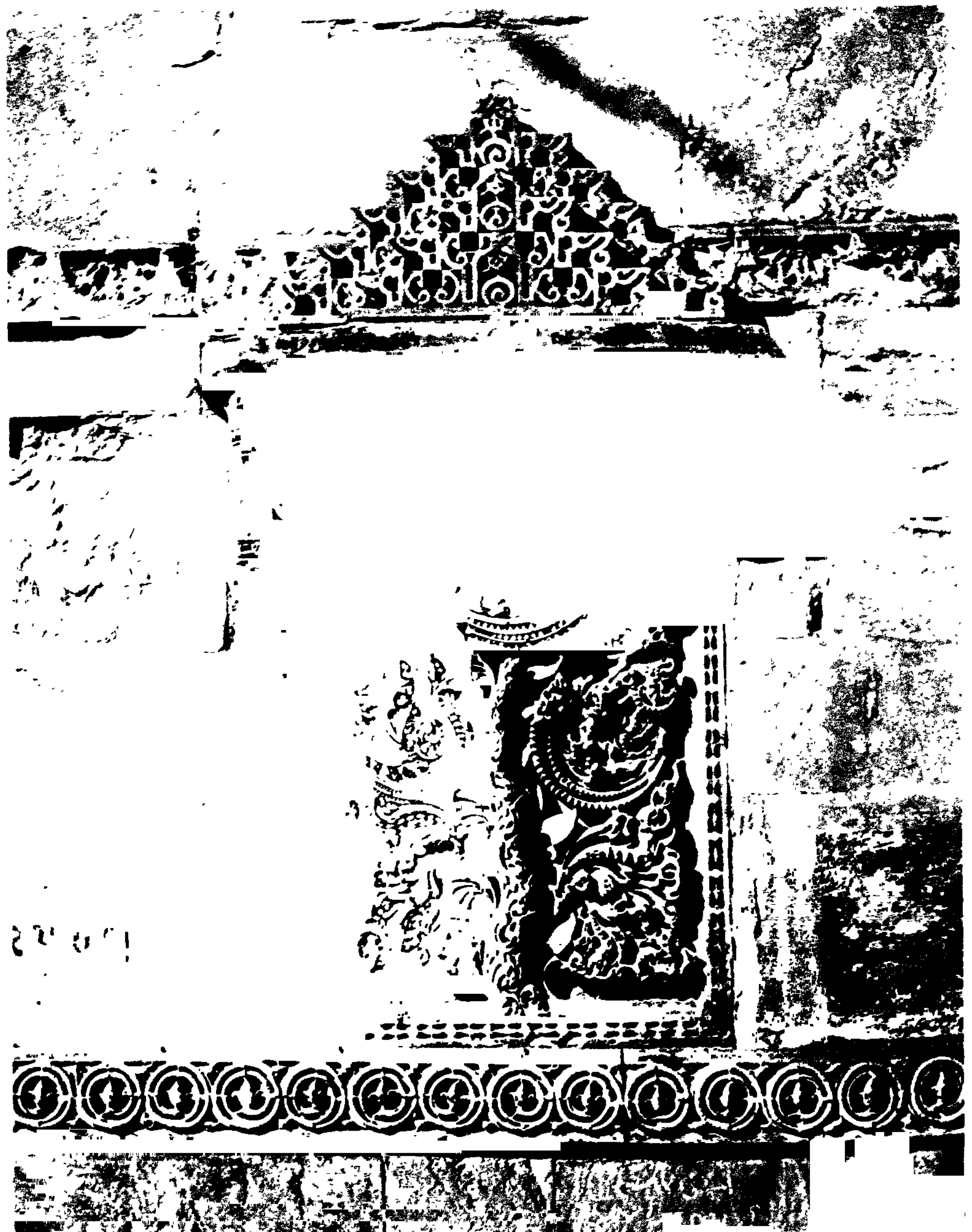
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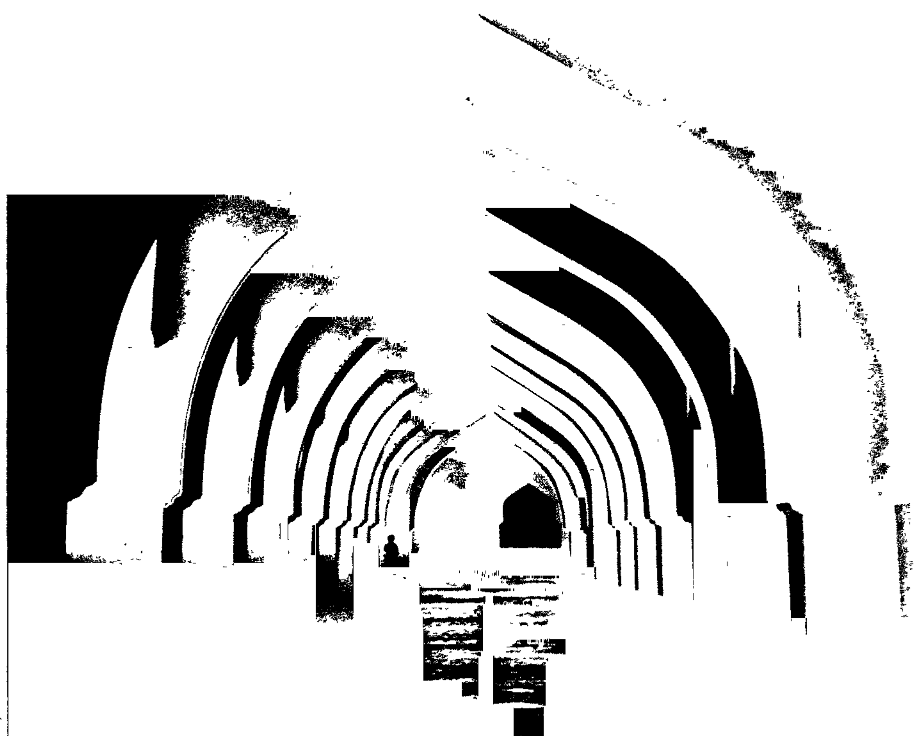


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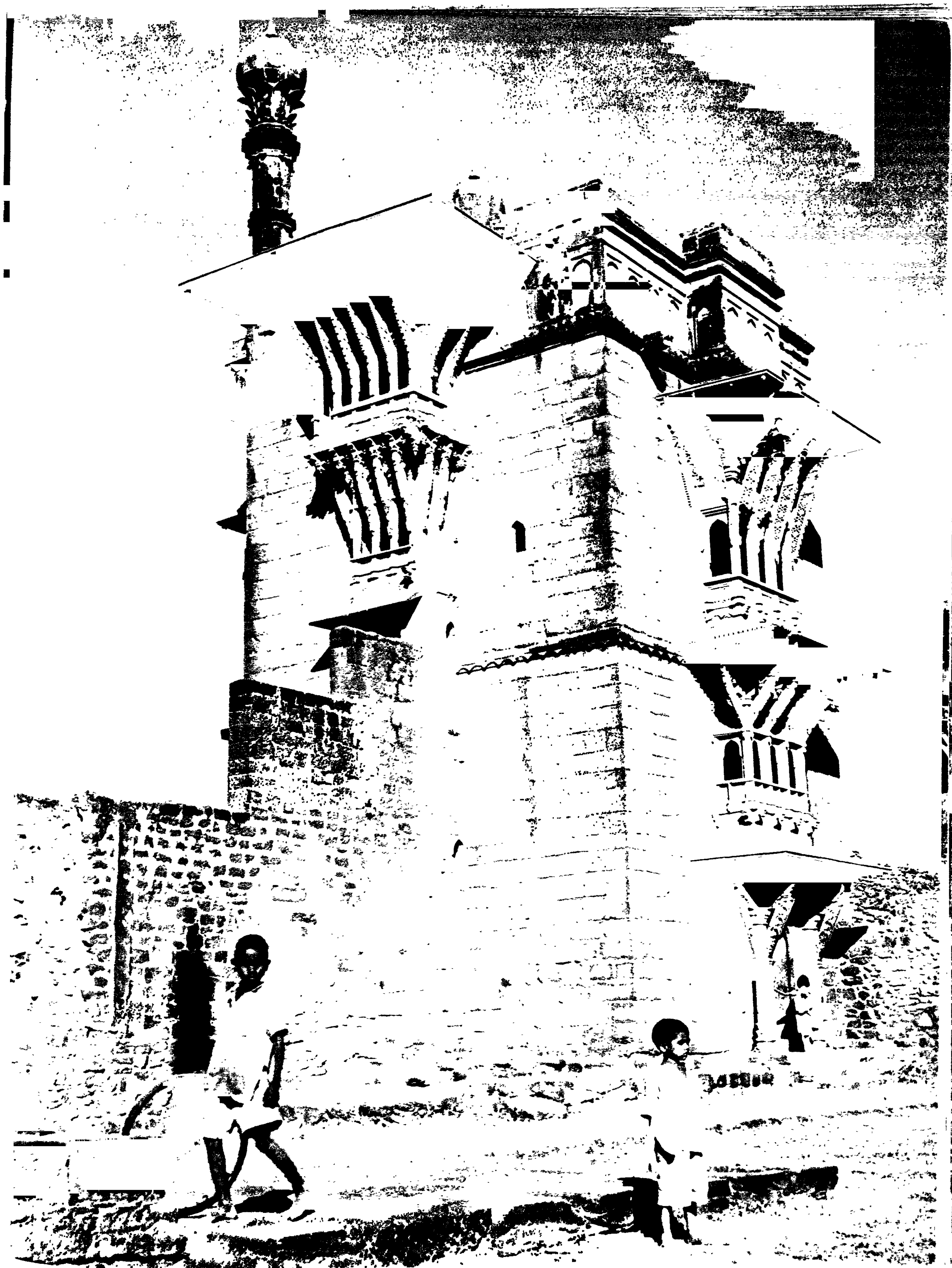
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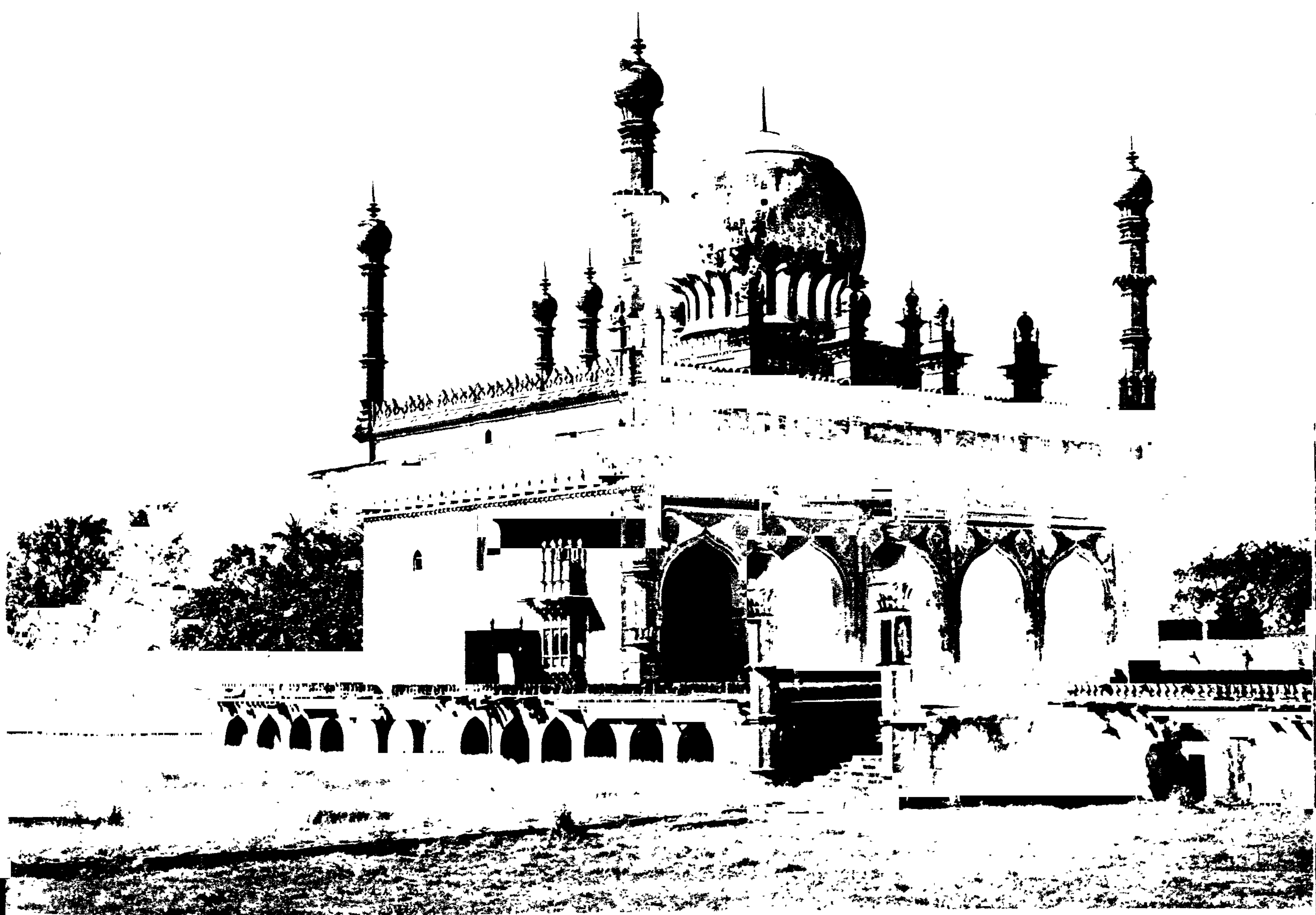




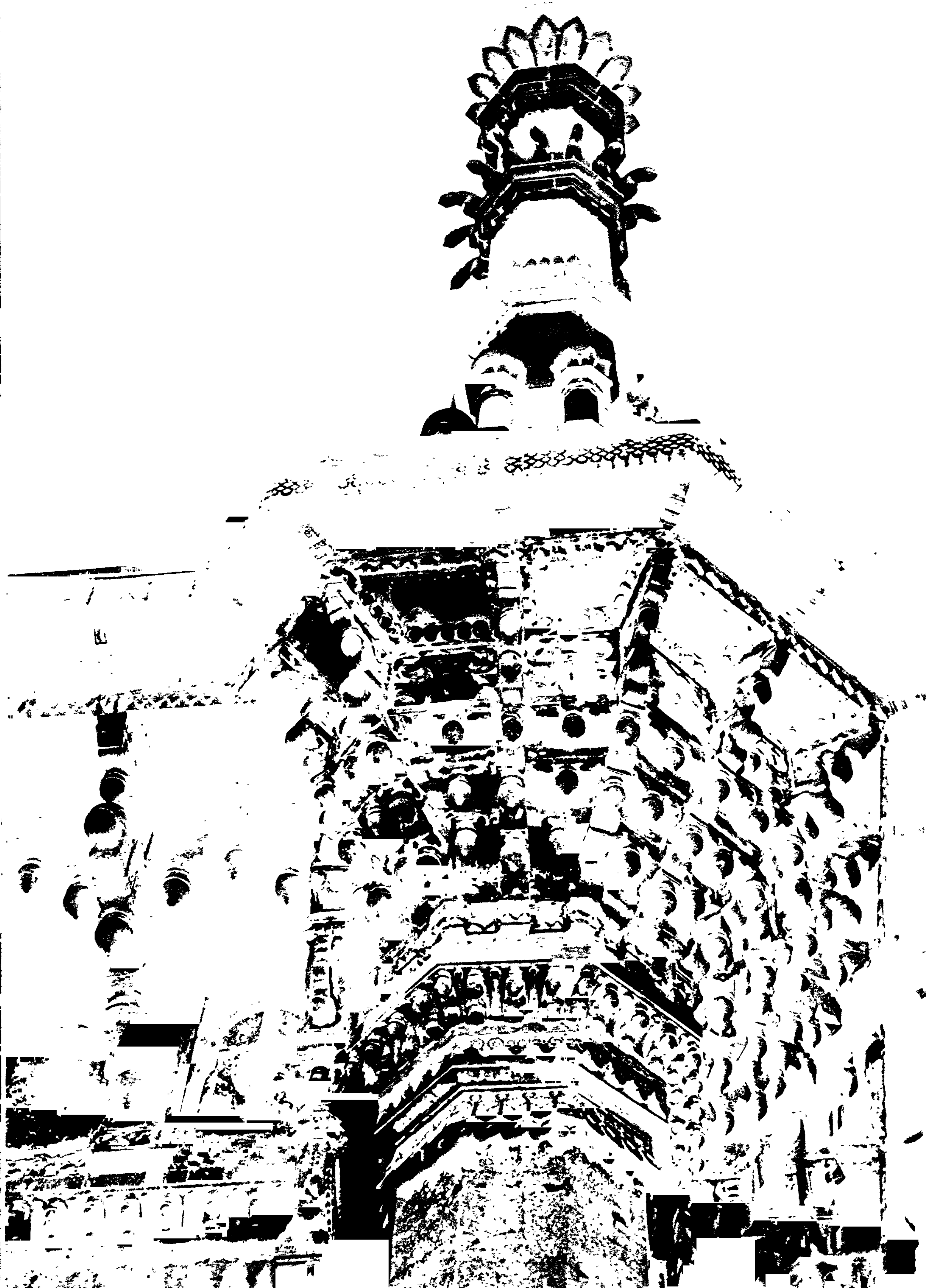
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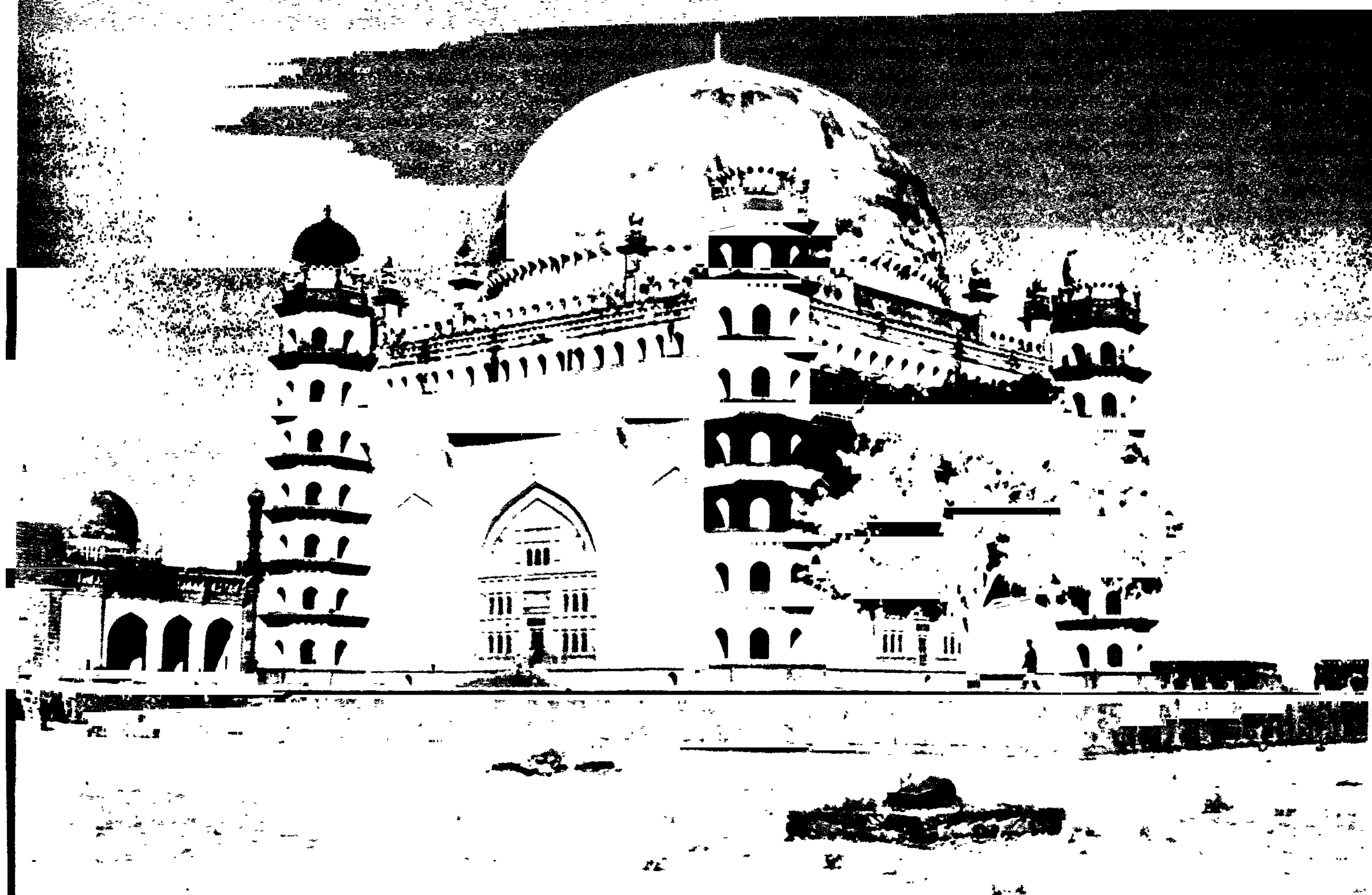


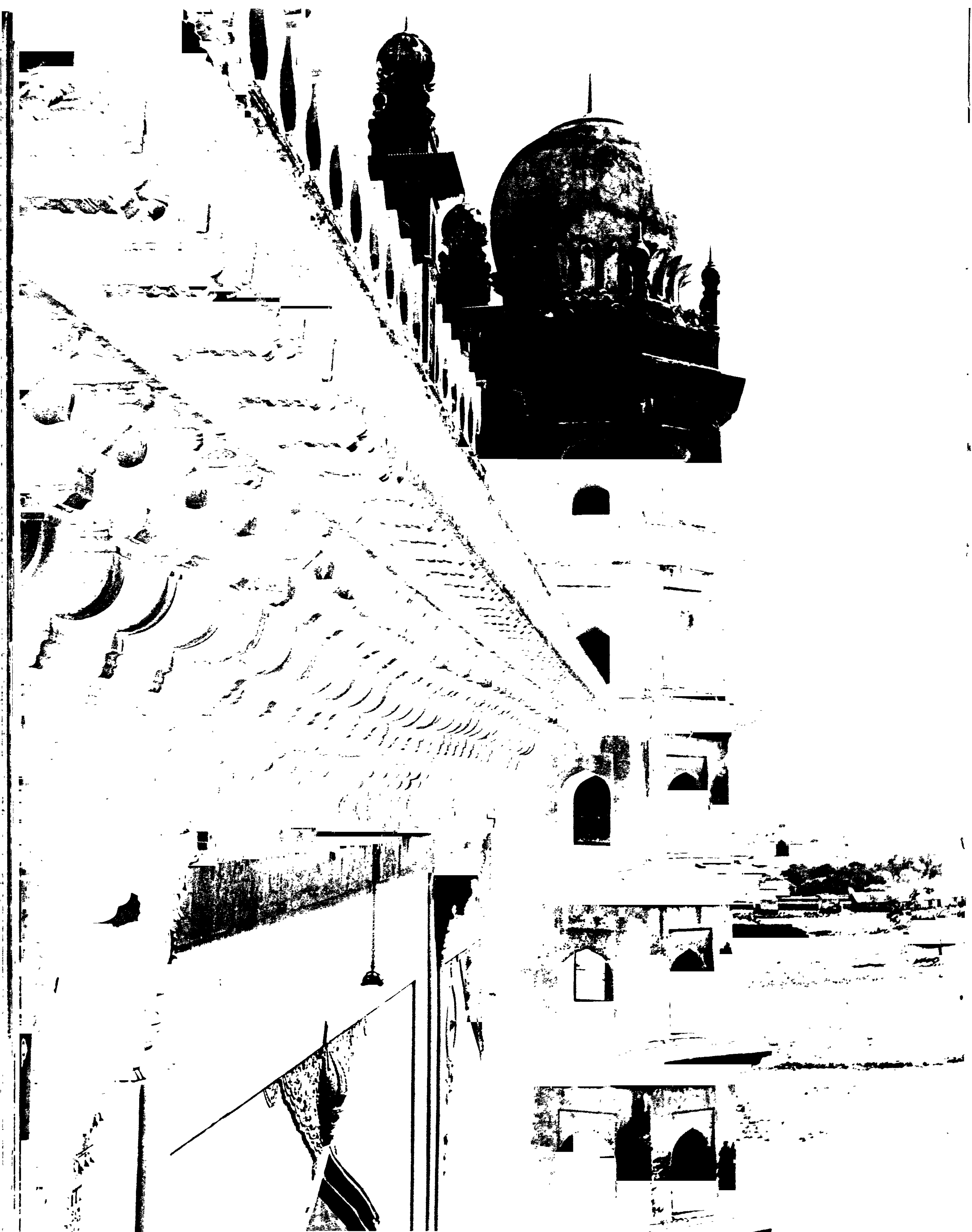
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377





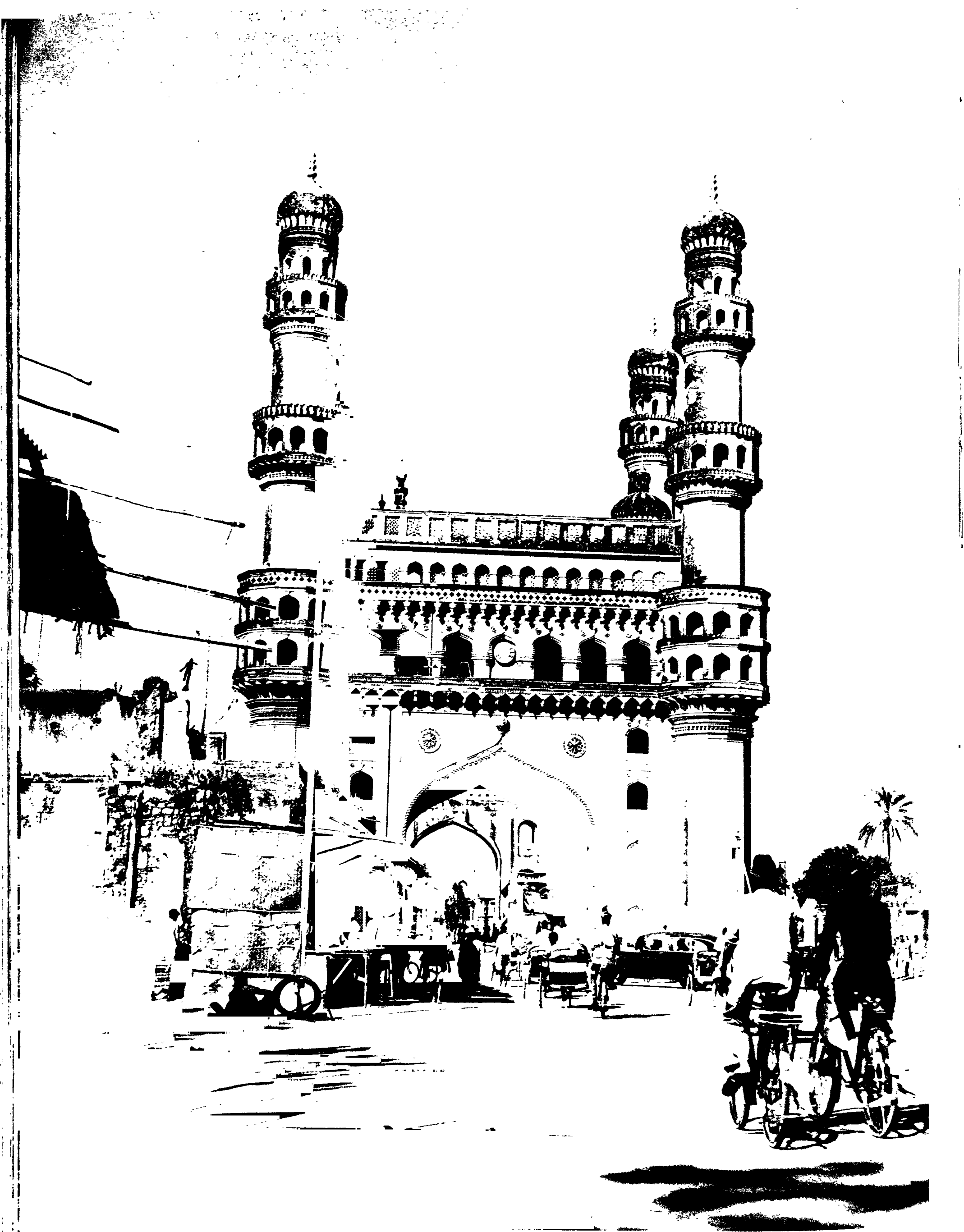


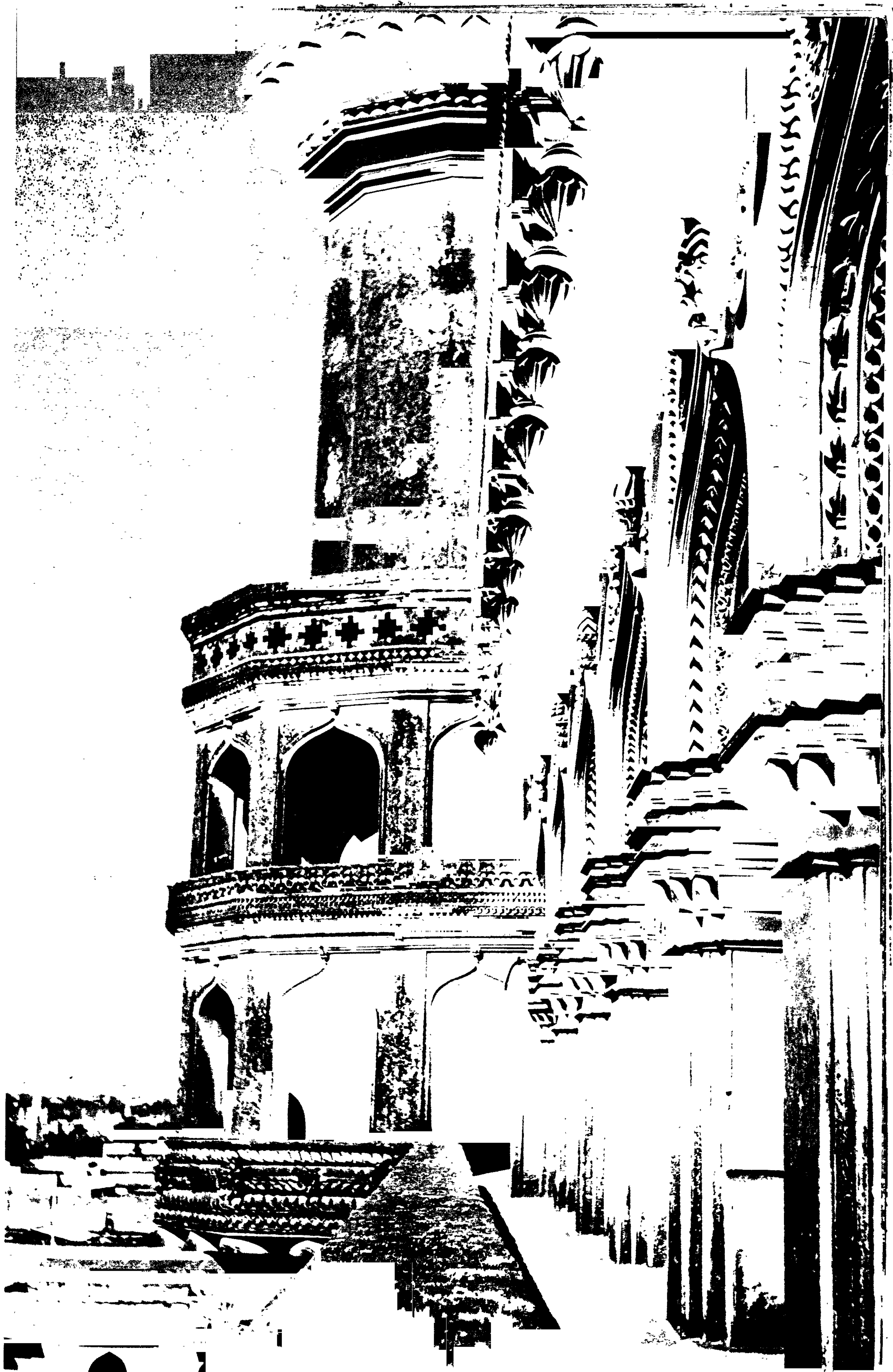
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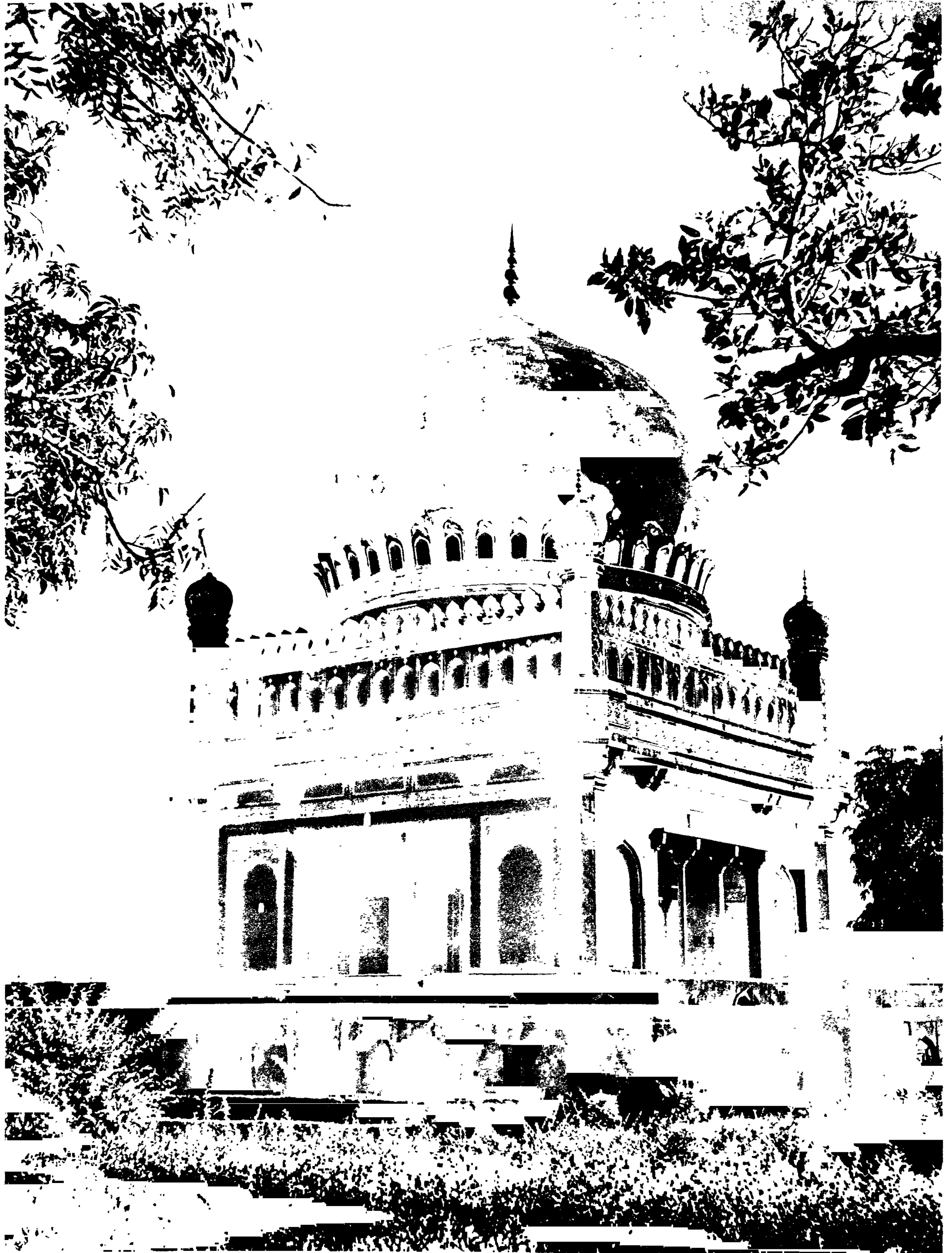


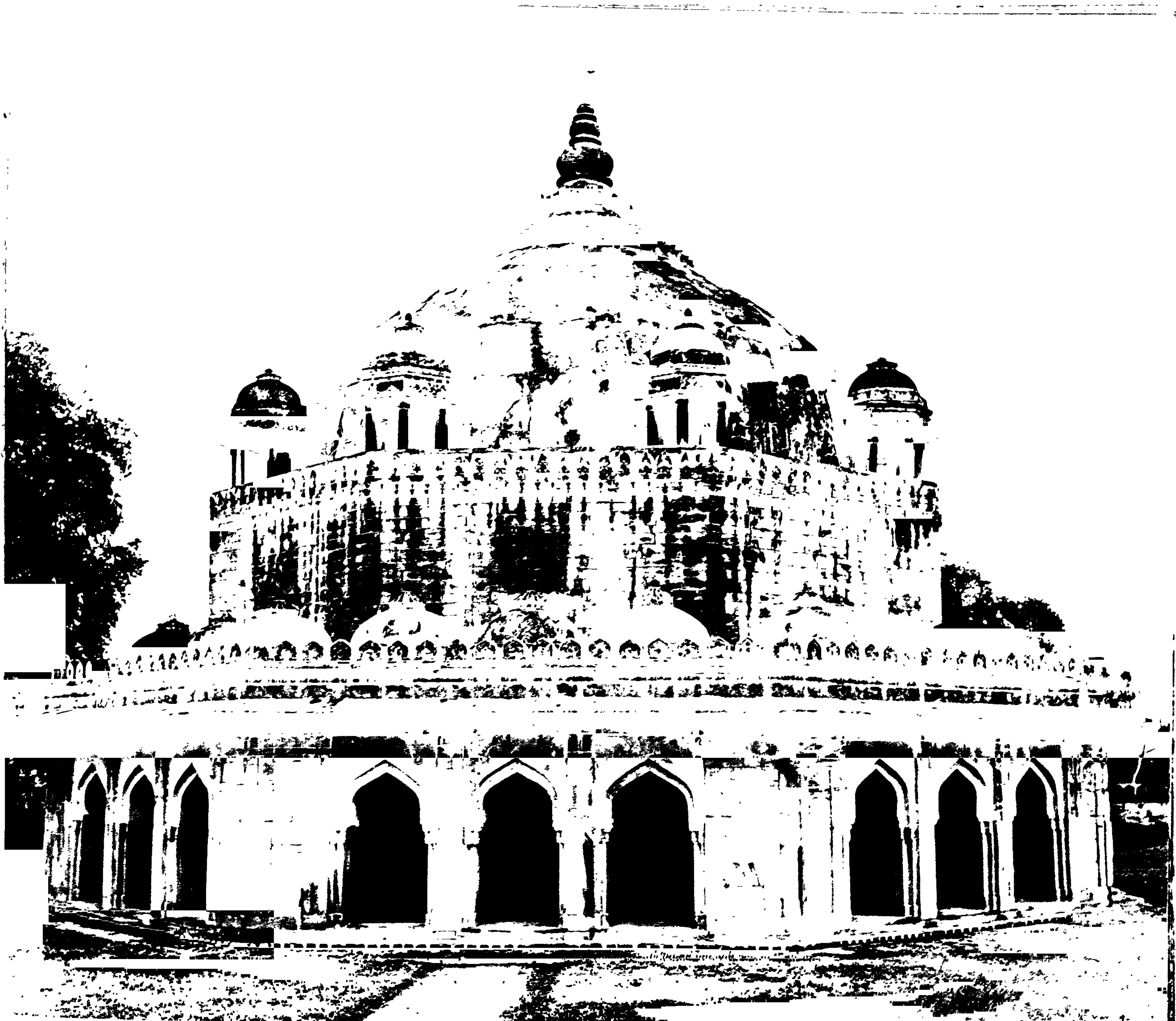
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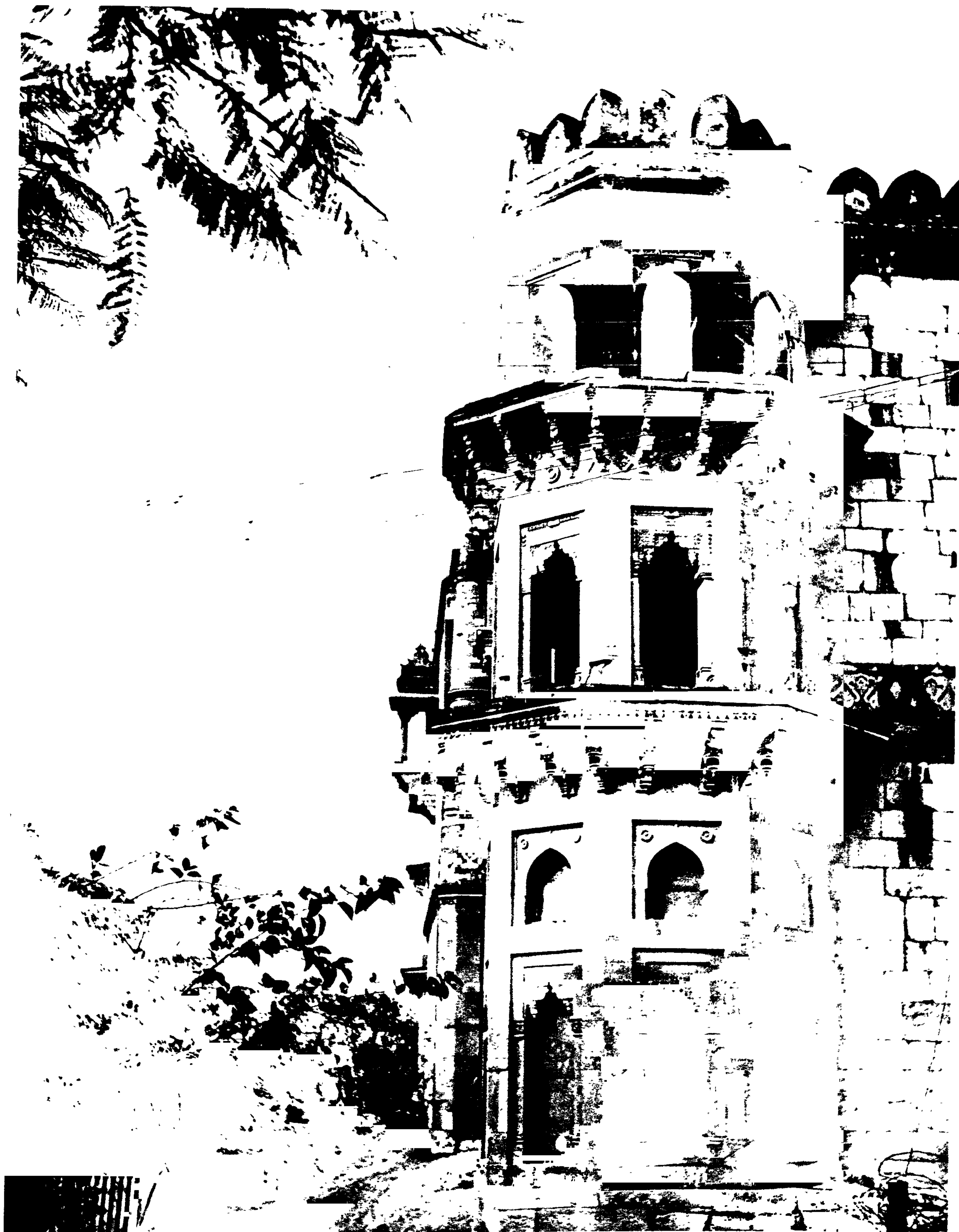




386



387





389

II. THE MOGHUL PERIOD

This was the golden age of Indo-Muslim architecture. Akbar, who had succeeded his father in 1556, now attempted to bring about a synthesis of the art of Persia and that of India. He was a great builder, founded a town near Agra, called Fatehpur Sikri, and erected many monuments in different places. Under his reign the fine arts revived and towns sprang up all over the empire. He died in 1605, leaving the richest empire in the world to his son Salim who assumed the name Jahangir. During his reign it was mainly his wife, Nur Jahan, who was of Afghan origin, who directed the affairs of state. When he died in 1627, his son Khurram seized power after a short struggle and, under the name Shah Jahan, ruled as a despot, spending all the resources of the country on magnificent buildings and luxuries. He conquered the Deccan and turned it into a viceroyalty which he gave to his son Aurangzeb. The latter, weary of his father's excesses, rebelled, deposed him in 1658 and exercized his own tyrannical rule until 1707. Under his reign, architecture and fine arts declined, for the emperor was a fanatic and avaricious. The Moghul empire was soon to see the end of its glorious days. The English and French arrived and the petty sultans who remained in power were but puppets. Ancient India was dead, a new, modern India began to evolve, this time more technical than artistic.

A. The Beginning of the Moghul Period

390. TOMB OF MOHAMMED GHAUS, GWALIOR (1564). This mausoleum, which still preserves some Lodi characteristics, notably the dome, represents a well defined stage of development. Its pavilions are more elongated and the countless windows of fretted marble combine the austere style of the preceding reigns with the more Indian imagination of the Gujerat manner. A large number of little edifices surround this rather hybrid monument and by their simplicity contribute to the ennoblement of this great mausoleum. Among the adjacent tombs is that of Tansen, the favourite musician of Akbar's time.

391. TOMB OF HUMAYUN, DELHI. In this instance the style is radically different and we witness more typically Persian architectural forms. Erected by the wife of this great monarch, Sharf-un-Nisaa Haji Begum, in 1566, the mausoleum is the work of a Persian architect, Mirak Mirza Ghiyas. The white marble dome, the large alcove at the entrance and the elevated basement on which the visitors' rooms are situated, the immense square park with its lanes crossed by canals and enlivened by fountains, mark the departure of an imperial style which was to become more elaborate and well defined. The park is embellished with gates which are monuments in themselves. Marble was increasingly used which resulted in pleasant designs in combination with the red sand-stone. The tomb is square, 150 feet on each side, stands on a platform 23 feet high and has an unusual dome wi.h a finial 138 feet from the ground. The interior consists of several octagonal rooms. The central one contains the royal cenotaph, those on the periphery the cenotaphs of the imperial family.

392. THE FORT, AGRA. Akbar built this fortress with its approximately semi-circular outline, along the Jumna river, not only for the defence of the town but also to live in. It has nearly 1000 yards of walls, is 70 feet high and is built from well-dressed stone blocks; it has a profusion of towers. It is surrounded by a wide moat which draws its water from the river.

393. AKBAR'S HORSE, SIKANDRA. This life-size statue is said to be that of Akbar's favourite horse. It represents one of the very rare pieces of Muslim sculpture. A fragment of another statue of a horse, with a highly stylised head, is situated at the foot of the walls of Agra fort (see plate 194). It seems to confirm the legend which relates that Akbar's horse killed itself on this spot, jumping over the bastion.

394. GENERAL VIEW OF THE BATHS, FATEHPUR SIKRI. After a Muslim holy man had predicted the birth of his son, Akbar had a complete town built, surrounded by high walls, some thirty mites to the west of Agra. The defences of this town, which were built within a couple of years, contain an enormous complex of palaces and various monuments, living-quarters, mosques and tombs. Akbar wanted to make it his capital but for some unknown reason, perhaps on account of the lack of water, was forced to abandon it after a few years. It is now a lifeless town, completely deserted, in which only the walls of the palace bear witness to the art of the period. Akbar's aim in building this town was to realise an architectural synthesis of Hindu and Muslim art, as he had wanted to create a new religion inspired by the two old ones. Where

he succeeded completely in his artistic creations, he failed in the religious field.

Here may be seen the *zenana* (the women's apartments) and the adjoining baths. In the distance the walls surrounding the town are visible.

395. THE PANCH MAHAL, FATEHPUR SIKRI. This building, which was perhaps the emperor's observatory, was called by this name on account of its five stories. The stories recede and are supported by double columns. A little pavilion surmounts the whole. It is impossible to conjecture the true purpose of such a bizarre monument.

396. AKBAR'S THRONE, FATEHPUR SIKRI. This throne is placed on a large pillar in the centre of the Diwan-i-Kas and consists of a circular platform connected with the galleries surrounding the hall by a sort of bridge on the hall's diagonals. The central platform is supported by thirty-six brackets, arranged in a circle around the capital of the pillar. Akbar used to sit here to preside over religious meetings. His ministers took their places on the galleries around the hall.

397. PILLAR, FATEHPUR SIKRI. This quadruple pillar has typically Hindu decorations of trees and fruits. There are seldom two exactly identical columns at Fatehpur Sikri.

398. BACK OF THE BALAND DARWAZA, FATEHPUR SIKRI. When he returned from a new conquest, Akbar had this "Gate of Victory" erected on a plan that eclipsed all the other buildings in the town. It is 130 feet high and 118 feet wide and is situated on top of an immense staircase. Its arcade is of the same type as those decorating the façades of Humayun's tomb and ornamented with inscriptions in Arabic letters. It gives on to the mosque courtyard with three arches, surmounted by terraces and pavilions.

399. AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDRA. This mausoleum was erected in 1613 by Jahangir to the memory of his father. It deliberately departs from conventional Muslim art in that it has no dome. The room containing the marble cenotaph is situated in the top of the building, which has three stories. Countless pavilions adorn the terraces around the stories and to a certain extent counteract the solid appearance of the mausoleum. Some authors are of the opinion that this mausoleum was never completed and that a dome, indispensible in Moghul art, is needed to establish its balance. But why, then, was the room in the upper story so perfectly finished, all in white fretted marble? In the centre, large vaulted recesses on either side of the ground-floor give access to the tomb. Like all Moghul mausoleums, this one is situated in the middle of an immense square garden which is entered through monumental gates.

400. ENTRANCE, AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDRA. It is more or less similar to the entrances to other tombs of the same period, but more ornate, with motifs in white marble which stand out beautifully against the red sand-stone of the building. Another original feature: the presence of four white marble minarets, with three stories, erected at each corner of the gate, which is as wide as it is deep and built on a square ground-plan. It is, curiously, a gate built on the plan of a tomb. The same phenomenon may be seen at the Alaï Darwaza (plate 358).

401. TOMB OF ITIMADED-DAULA, AGRA. This is one of the most succesful monuments of the period. It does not have a dome either, but four corner towers ending in pavilions. The monument is built entirely from white marble inlaid with semi-precious stones, jasper, cornelian, peridot, mother-of-pearl, etc. It lies in the middle of a garden which is entered through large red sand-stone gates, decorated with marble. The marble floor slabs are also inlaid with coloured stones, arranged in delicate arabesques. The tomb is situated in the central room. All around it, smaller rooms contain cenotaphs of Nur Jahan's family. It was erected in 1626.

402. TOMB OF ITIMADED-DAULA. View of part of the terrace, a corner pavilion and part of the entrance gate. In the background lies Agra, on the other side of the Jumna.

403. TOMB OF ITIMADED-DAULA, AGRA. Detail of the inlaid work. This art is purely Persian in its conception. The work, on the other hand, is that of Indian artisans.

B. The Reign of Shah Jahan

404. MOTI MASJID, AGRA (1650). With the reign of Shah Jahan a new style made its appearance. The massive use of marble, which became almost the only noble material, and of multilobate arcades, became general as well as the use of bulbous domes with narrow collars. The Moti Masjidin Agra fort is an example of this new manner, in which simplicity of line is coupled with care of detail and precision, to give the imperial style a richness of expression worthy of the empire of the Great Moghul.

405. INTERIOR, MOTI MASJID, AGRA

406. THE RED FORT, DELHI. So called on account of the stone from which it was built. It was erected in 1650 along the banks of the Jumna river by Shah Jahan who made Delhi his new capital. The fort encloses several palaces, all in marble. The pink sand-stone gates of the fort are embellished with delicate, floral decorations. The Jumna has since changed its course and the fort remains isolated in the fields, its moats no longer watered by the river.

407. THE RANG MAHAL, DELHI. This hall of entertainment, in an exquisite palace Shah Jahan had built in the Red Fort, is decorated with a splendid fountain in its centre, of marble inlaid with semi-precious stones. The water ran away through channels to cool the different rooms of the imperial quarters. Unfortunately troops were stationed for a long time in the fort and removed the stones from their settings.

408. INLAID WORK, RED FORT, DELHI. Its style differs profoundly from that of the Itimaded-Daula. The designs have lost the Persian note and their rigidity, giving way to elegant arabesques based on floral motifs. In some of them faint Chinese and European influences can be distinguished.

409. INTERIOR OF THE COURTYARD, JAMI MASJID, DELHI. The hall of prayer gives on to the courtyard through a vast, vaulted gate. The wings on either side contain five recesses. The three immense bulbs, of admirable proportions, give great majesty to the whole.

410. THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA. While he was building Delhi, Shah Jahan completed at Agra one of the most grandiose buildings of his period: the tomb of his favourite wife, Arjunanda Banu Begum Mumtaz Mahal. Begun in 1631 it was not finished until 1653. More than twenty thousand workmen worked on the erection and decoration of this sumptuous mausoleum. Entirely built from white marble, inlaid with coloured stones, it was the work of a Persian architect named Ustad Ahmad of Lahore. The dome is the work of a Turkish architect, Ismail Khan, the decorations were done by Amanat Khan of Shiraz. Other foreigners, among them a Frenchman, Austin de Bordeaux, worked on it under the direction of Makramet Khan and Mir Abdul Karim. The general form of the Taj derives from the mausoleum of Humayun and the great gate from that of Akbar. Originally the Taj, whose whiteness is dazzling in the sunlight, was to have had its replica in black marble on the other side of the Jumna and connected with it by a bridge. But Shah Jahan was defeated and imprisoned in Agra Fort by his son Aurangzeb, and had no time to complete the original plan. His successor did not care to pour the remains of the country's rescources into such a costly monument. The regularity of this remarkable and well proportioned tomb, flanked by its four minarets, rising from the corners of the huge platform on which it stands, is extraordinary. But it owes as much to the quality of its decorations as to its dimensions and elegantly refined style. The mausoleum lies on the river bank and is surrounded on three sides by a park with yew trees along the edges of the canals and surrounding the fountains. It measures more than 980 feet on each side. The platform of the mausoleum is 23 feet high and in its centre supports the mausoleum proper which is almost 200 feet on each side and has a total height of about the same. The interior is conceived in exactly the same way as that of Humayun's tomb, consisting of a central octagonal room, surrounded by adjoining rooms, reached through narrow passages. The central dome of the Taj is bulbous, in the Persian style, whereas the pavilions decorating the corners of the terrace are more typically Indian. Although combining different styles, this Moghul masterpiece has a basic unity which has made it the most admired Indian monument throughout the world.

411. INTERIOR SCREEN, TAJ MAHAL, AGRA. An octagonal screen surrounds the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal and that of her husband Shah Jahan who was buried by her side in 1666. This screen is one of the purest triumphs of skill in the world. Each side of the octagon consists of three marble slabs, worked like lace. Not only are the slabs perforated, but the remaining marble is also sculpted. These screens are held together by marble uprights, richly inlaid with stonework.

412. DETAIL OF MARBLE SCREEN SURROUNDING THE CENOTAPHS, TAJ MAHAL, AGRA

C. The Reign of Aurangzeb

Since Aurangzeb was little inclined to erect monuments beyond those inspired by his fanaticism, the arts gradually fell into decline. The architects and artists did little beside copying, with greater or lesser slavishness and with more or less success, the outstanding works of the past, and themselves created nothing. Not one interesting work was added to the artistic heritage of India. With the decadence of the arts came political decadence, favouring the arrival of the Europeans and leading to new constructional forms.

413. MOTI MASJID (1662). Aurangzeb had scarcely taken possession of his throne in the Red Fort, when he expressed the desire to have a personal mosque. Near his apartments he had built a little mosque of the same type as those of his predecessors. Although it is very richly decorated, it nevertheless lacks ease. The globular domes are too close together. The courtyard is too narrow and entirely enclosed by an austere-looking red sand-stone wall.

414. INTERIOR, MOTI MASJID, DELHI. The decoration is a little too painstaking and borders on the baroque. The arcades are heavier than those of the period of Shah Jahan and have only seven lobes instead of nine.

415. THE RABIA DAURANI OR BIBI-KA-MUQBARA, AURANGABAD (1678). This tomb was built on the model of the Taj Mahal but is infinitely less majestic and of mediocre proportions. The work of the craftsmen is also less perfect. It lacks the simplicity which is the charm of its model.

416. ALAMGIR MOSQUE, BENARES. Aurangzeb did not spare Benares in his iconoclastic rage and in great haste built a mosque in very doubtful taste on the ruins of an old temple. Decadence is complete. A wall of the old temple of which Aurangzeb made use to erect his mosque can be seen in this photograph.

417. THE SAFDAR JANG, DELHI. This is the last Moghul monument. It was built in 1723 by a nobleman to shelter his last remains, and is also imitative of the Taj Mahal. It has no minaret, is surmounted by a badly proportioned dome and has corner towers. Built in red sand-stone and inlaid with marble, it measures only 60 feet on each side. It is a pale reflection of its ancestor; its beauty lies mainly in the colours of the stone and the inlaid work.

D. The Observatories

In 1734 the Maharaja of Jaipur, who was passionately interested in astronomical research, decided to verify the tables and calculations which had been established 300 years earlier by the famous Tartar astronomer Uluk Beg of Samarkand. Rejecting such bronze instruments as the astrolabe, which he found inaccurate, he had five observatories built, first in Delhi, then at Benares, Ujjain and Jaipur, where he replaced the known instruments by instruments of concrete and marble of his own invention. Then he began work and a few years later published the famous *Zig Muhammed Shahi* which contained new tables and computations in the Uluk Beg system, with much more precise data. The principal instruments which Maharaja Jai Sing of Jaipur invented were the Samrat Yantra, for measuring solar time, the Ram Yantra, for measuring altitudes and the azimuths of stars, and the Jai Prakash Yantra, for demonstrating the laws of spheres and showing the apparent movement of the sun. These monuments, built in red sandstone and marble, allow measurements of great precision.

418. JANTAR MANTAR, DELHI. View from the top of the Samrat Yantra. In the foreground, on the right, a Jai Prakash Yantra; in the background, two Ram Yantras.

419. JANTAR MANTAR, DELHI. Detail of the Jai Prakash Yantra.

420. OBSERVATORY, JAIPUR. View of the Samrat Yantra.

421. JANTAR MANTAR, DELHI. Detail of the Ram Yantra.

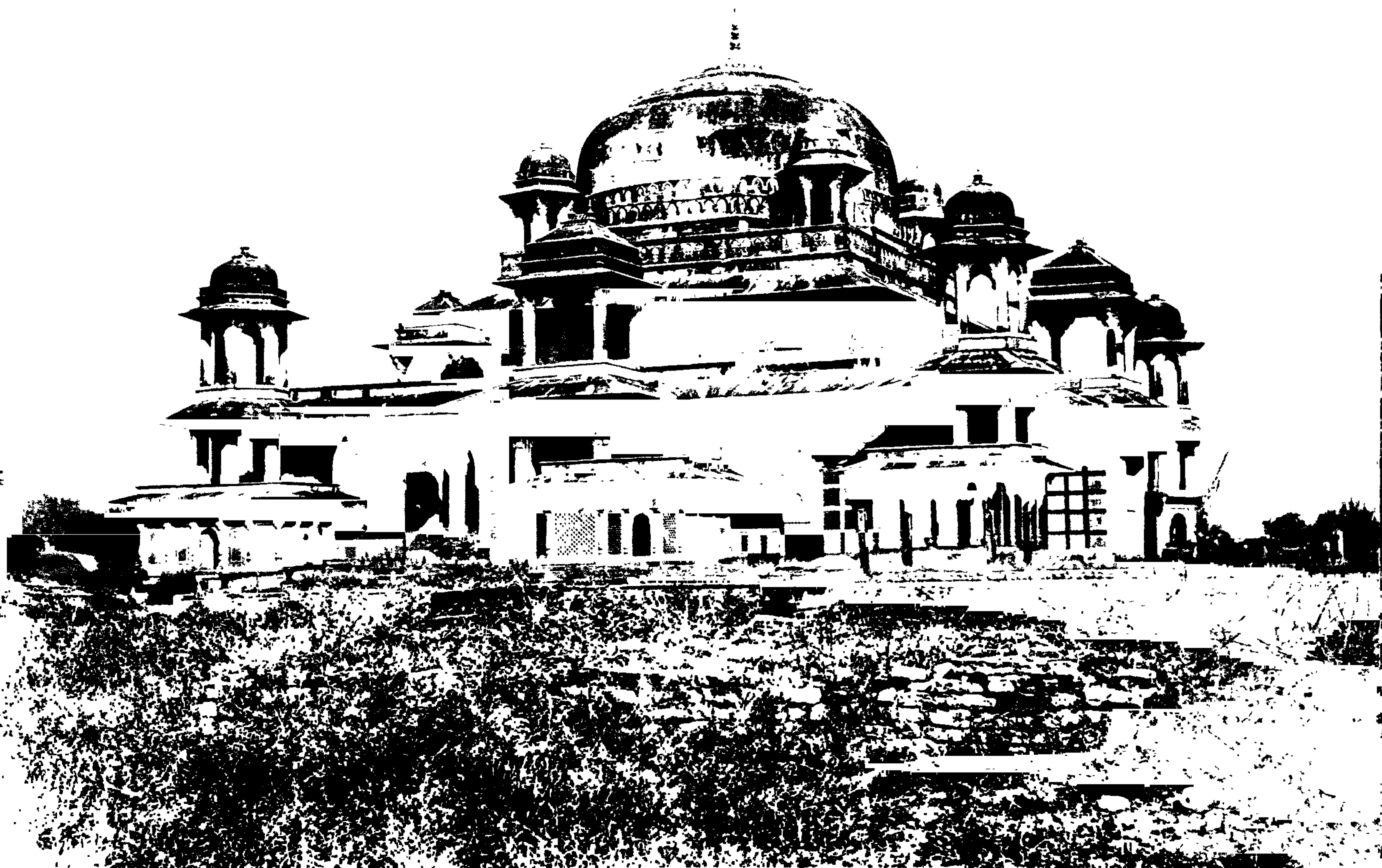
422. HAWA MAHAL, JAIPUR. Under the patronage of this same Maharaja, an entirely new town was created at Jaipur with a regular lay-out, the streets cutting one another at right-angles. The style of the buildings is unique in the history of Indian architecture. An example is this palace which is, in fact, nothing but a façade.

E. The Temples of Bundelkhand

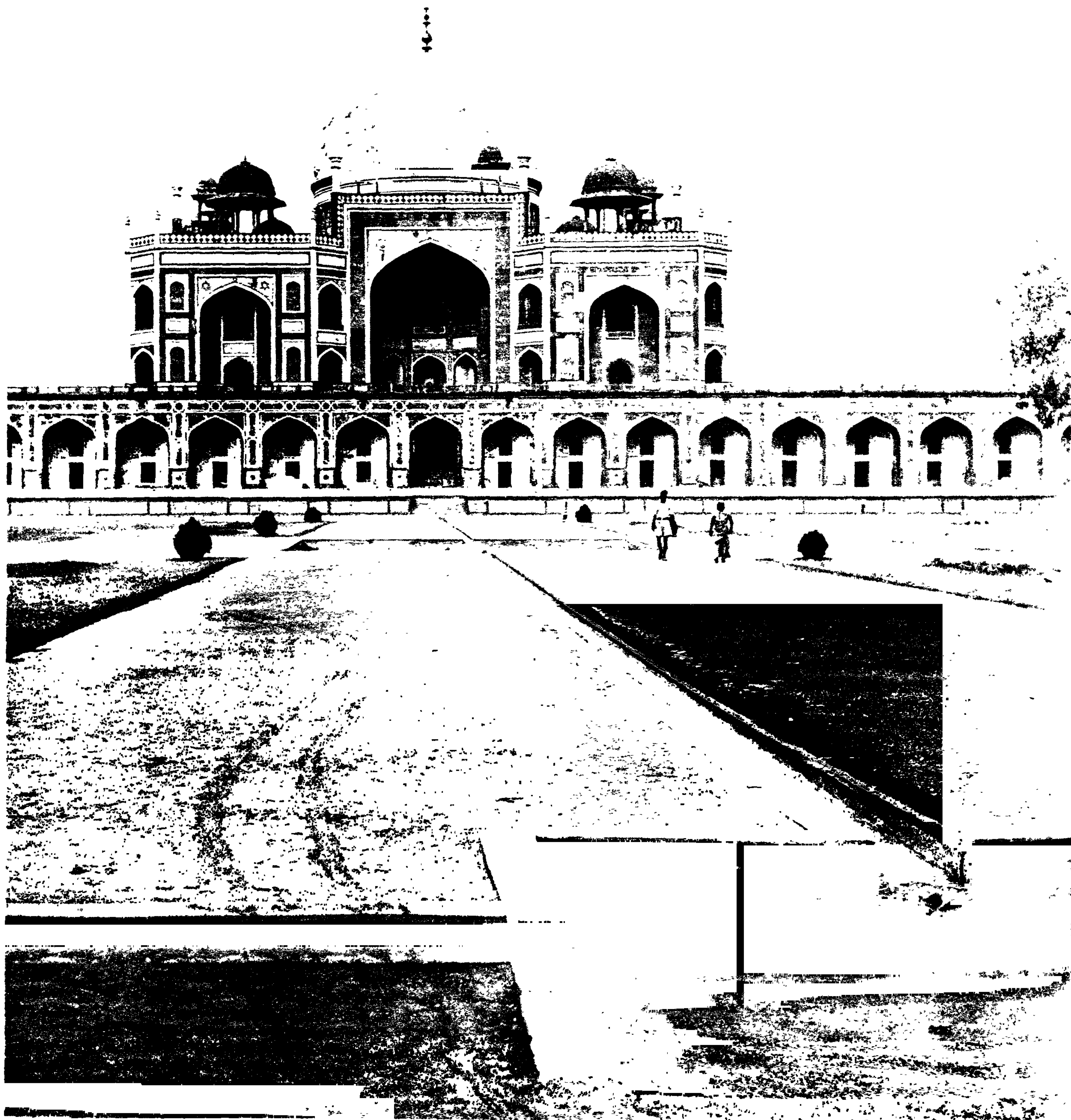
Towards the end of the Moghul period a rather special style developed in Budelkhand, which has not yet been studied. Here we present, without commentary, two photographs as samples. It is as yet impossible to give details of this form of art which is Hindu but under strong Moghul and Bengali influences.

423. CHATTARPUR TEMPLE, BUNDELKHAND

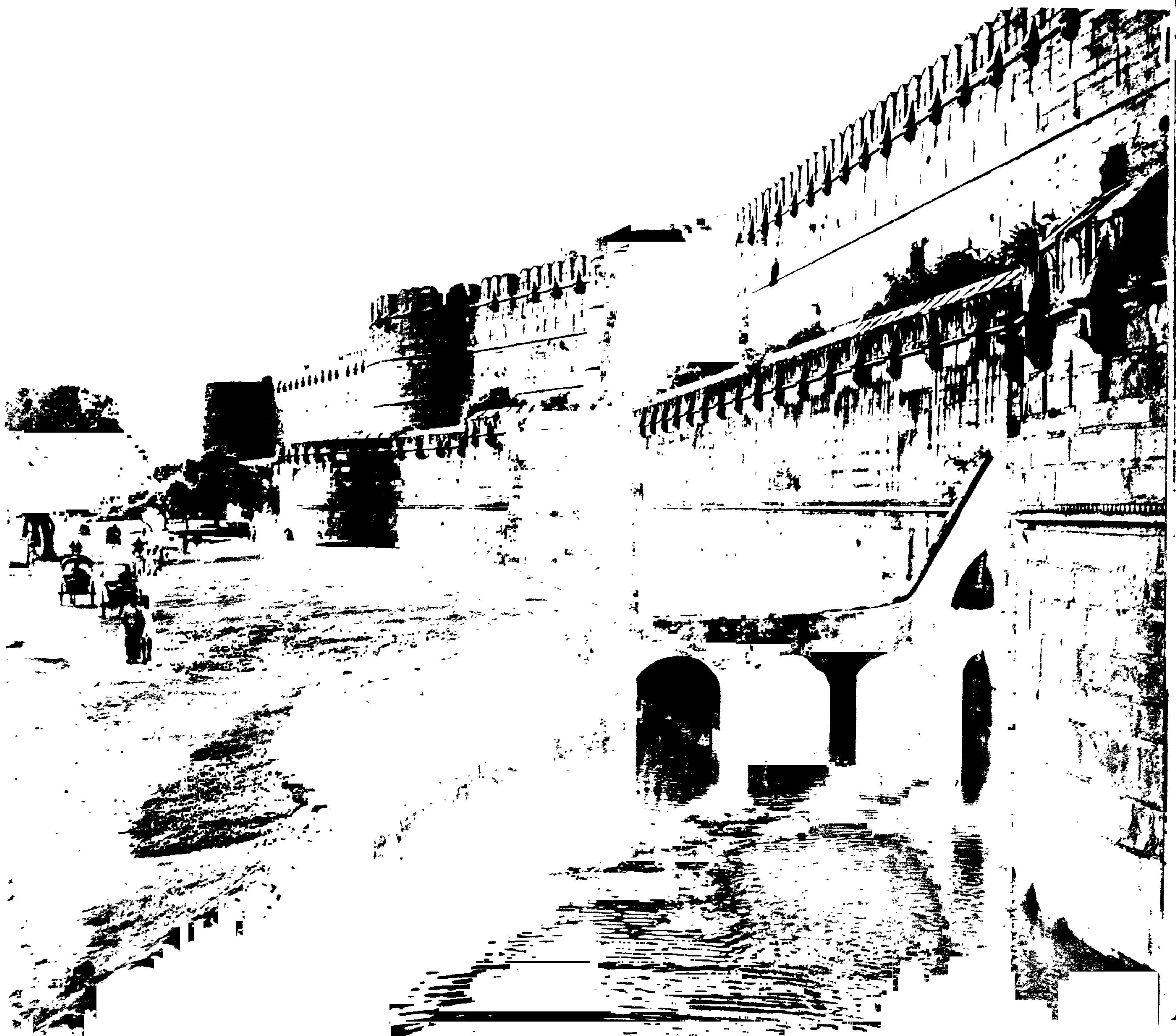
424. CHATTARPUR TEMPLE, BUNDELKHAND

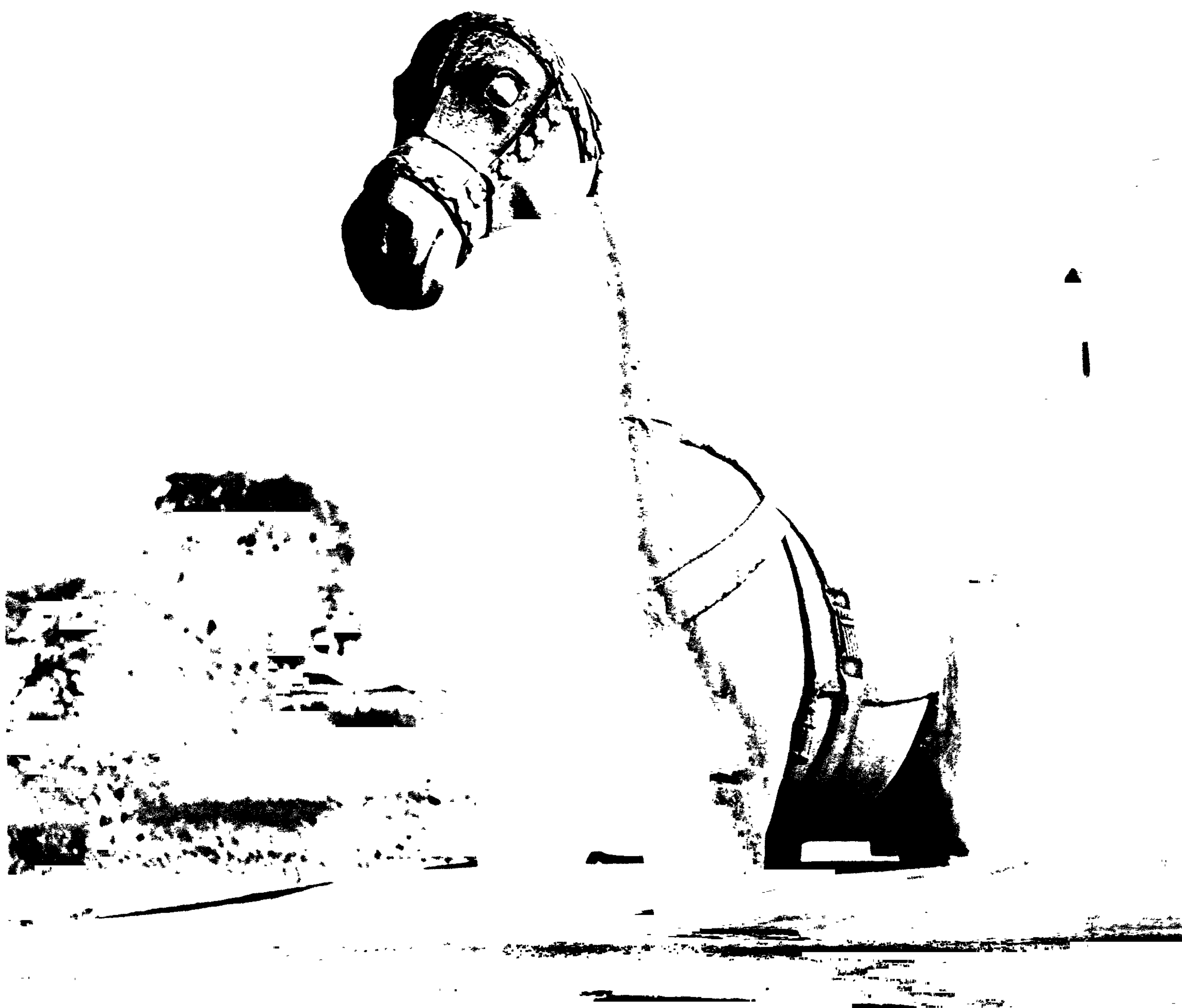


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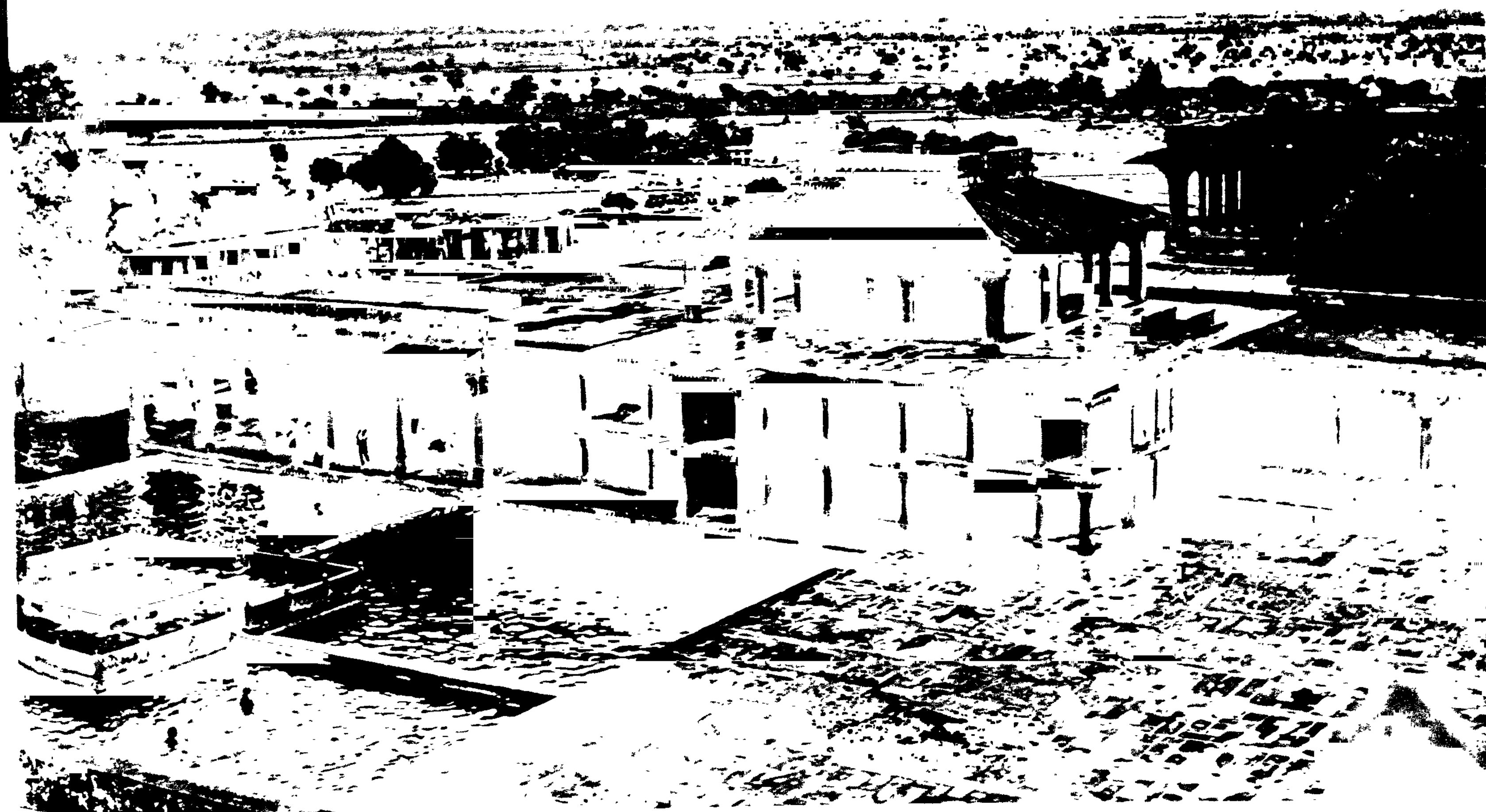


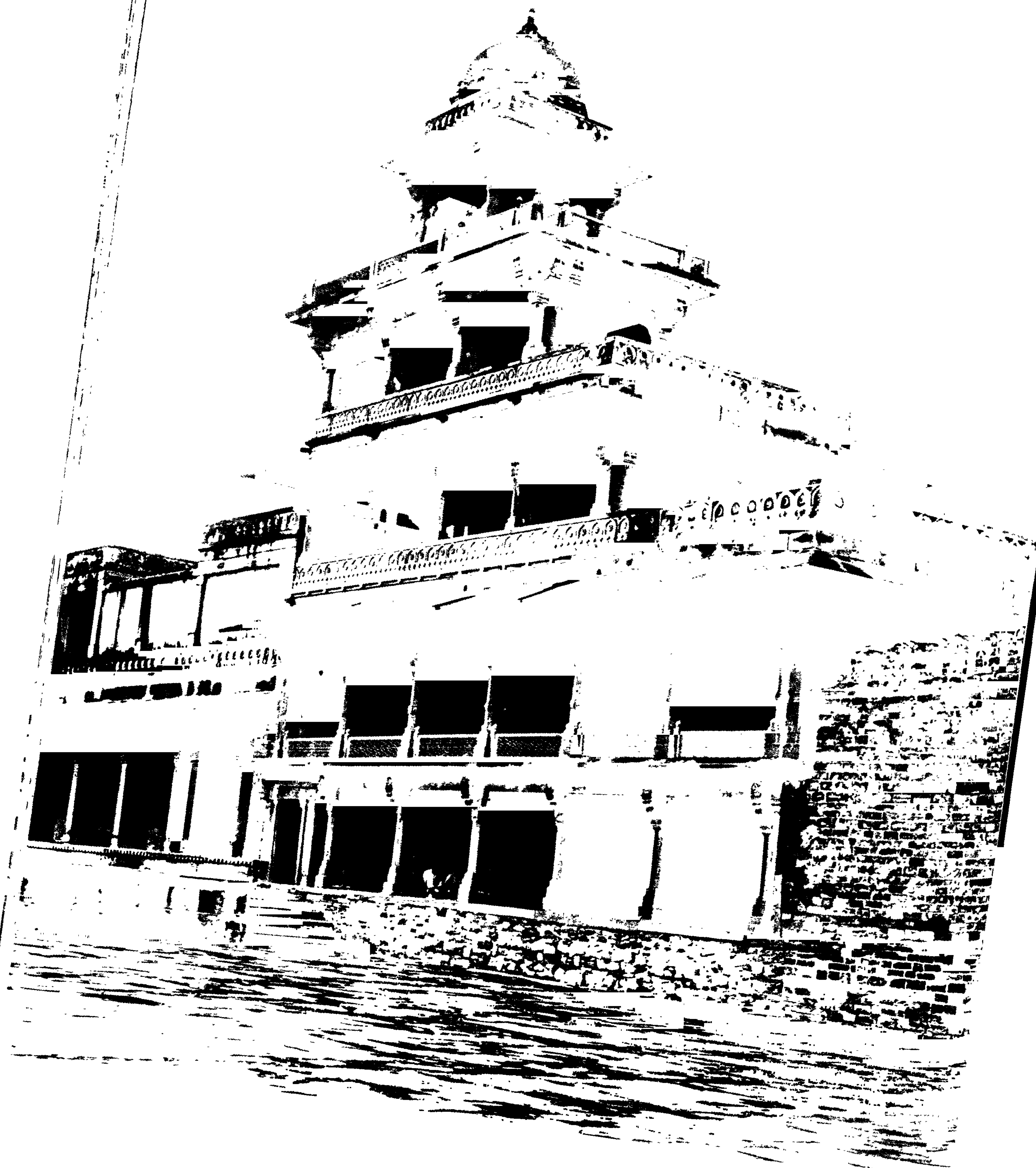
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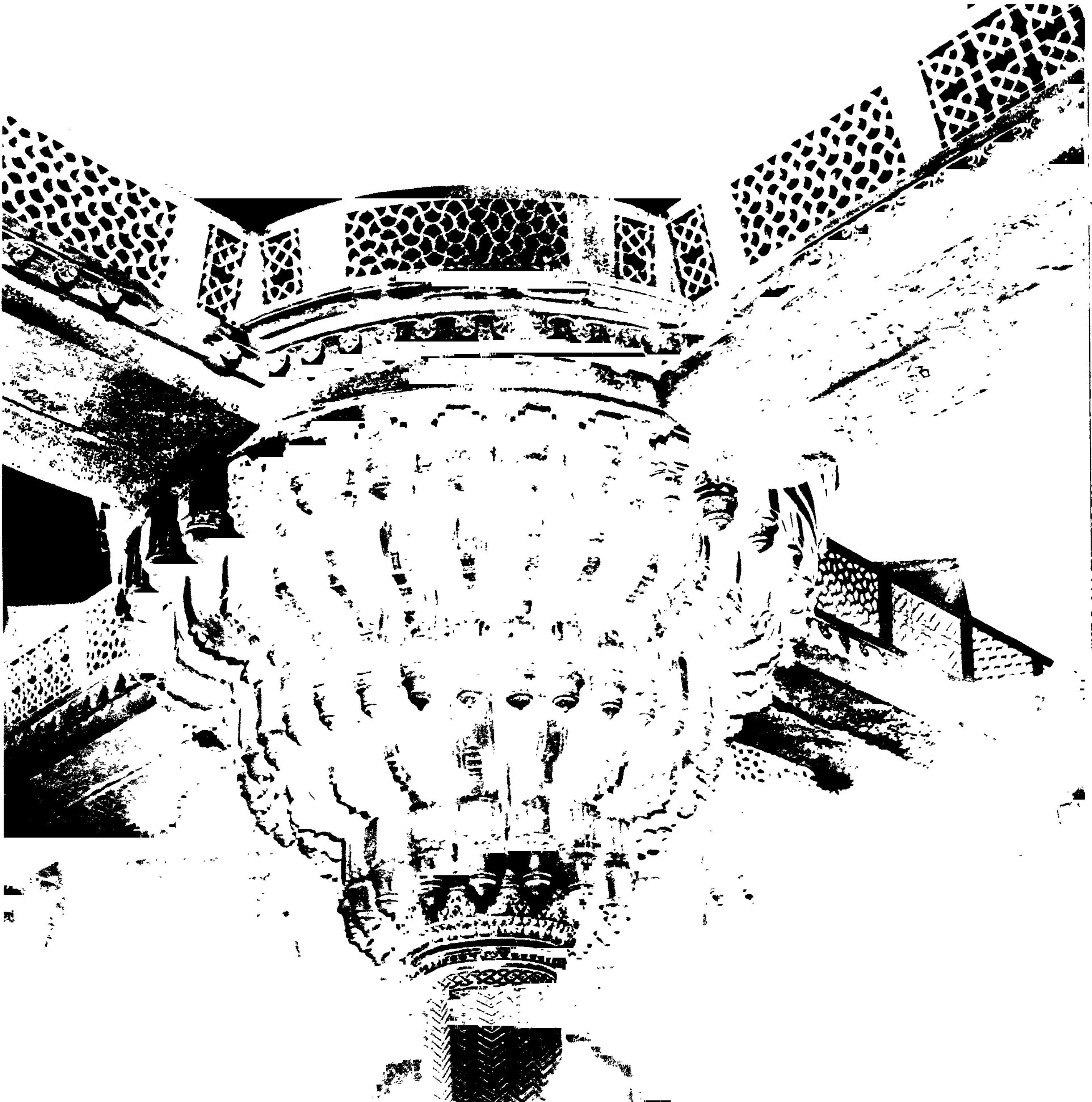


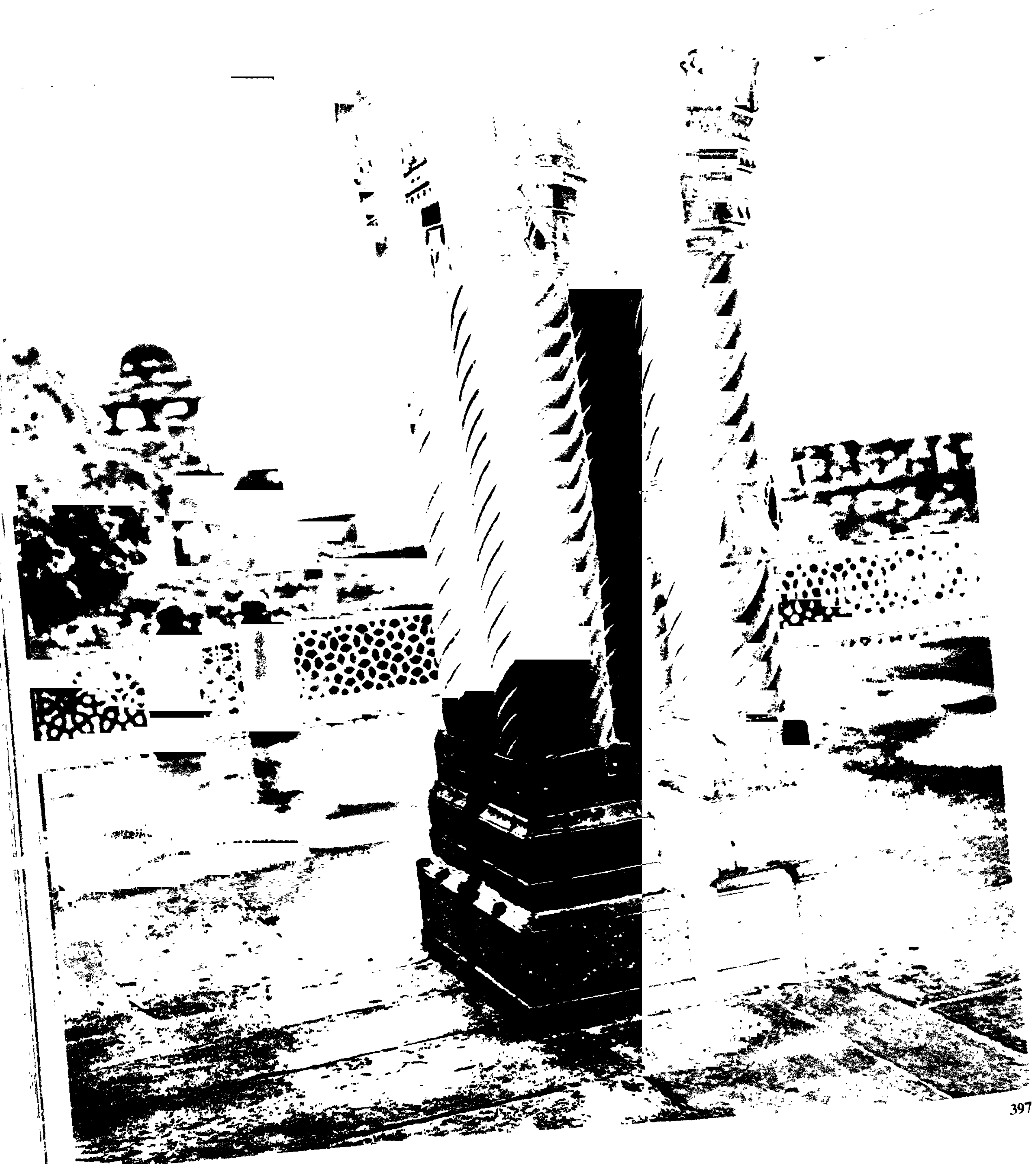


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398



399

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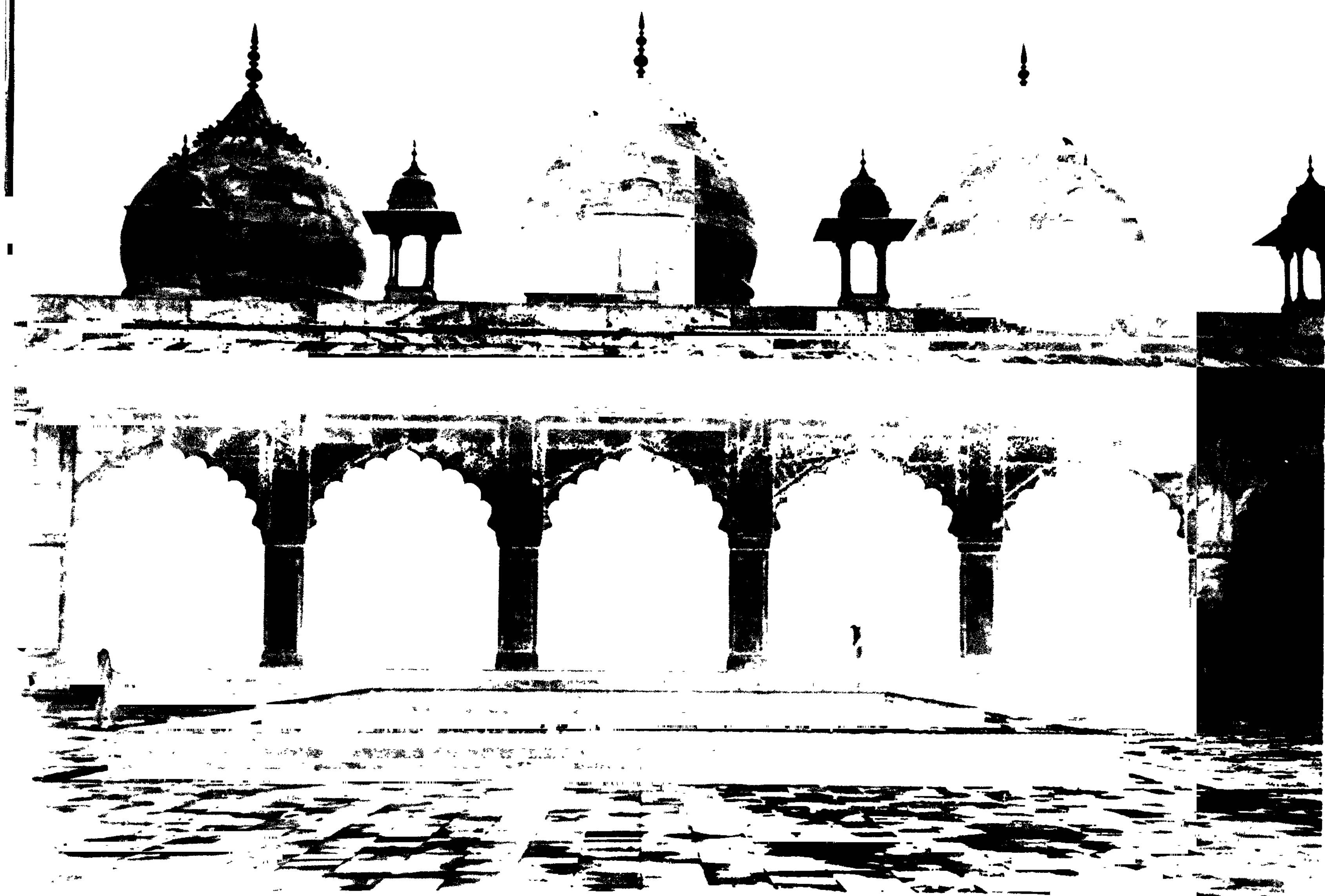
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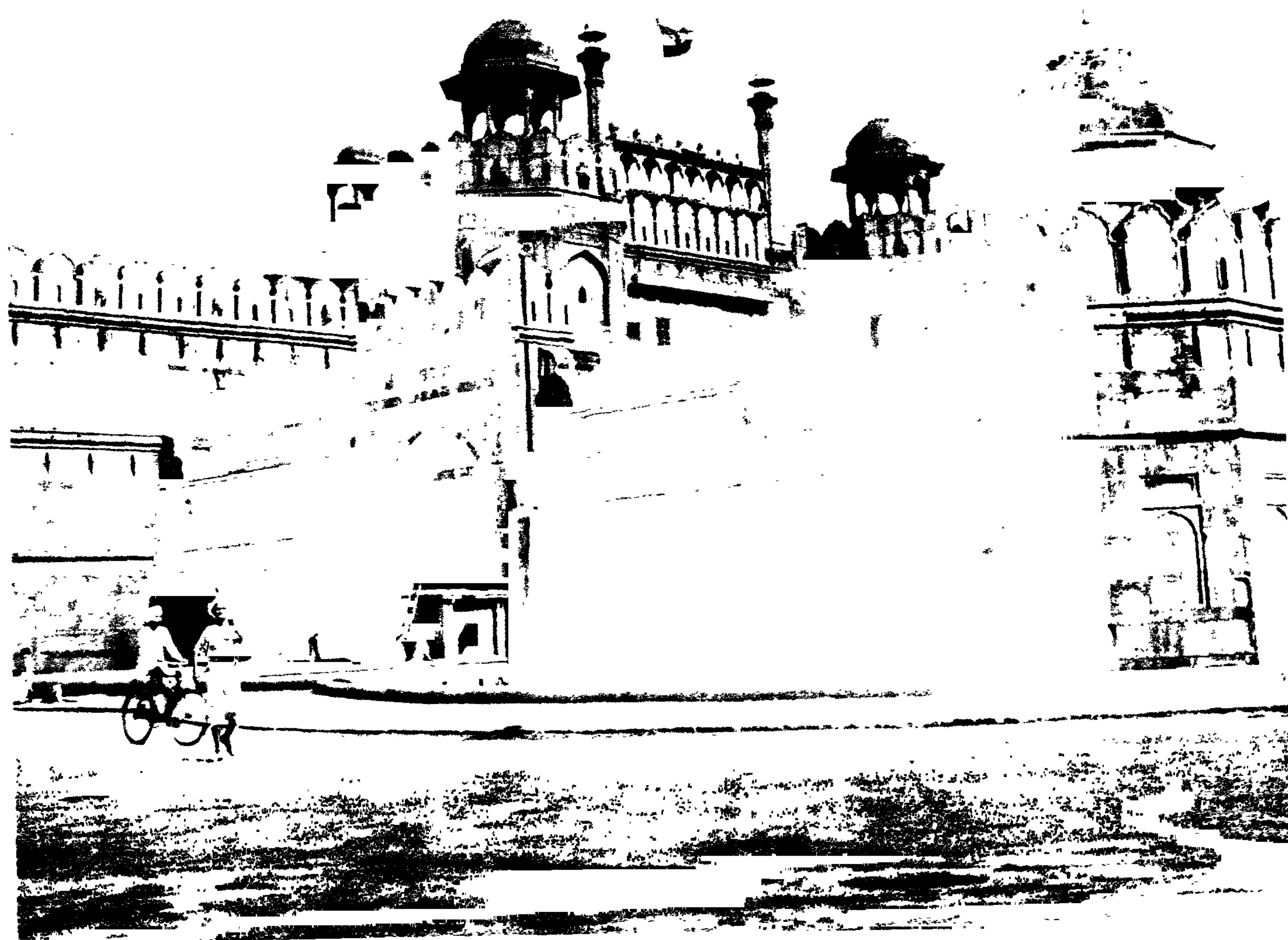


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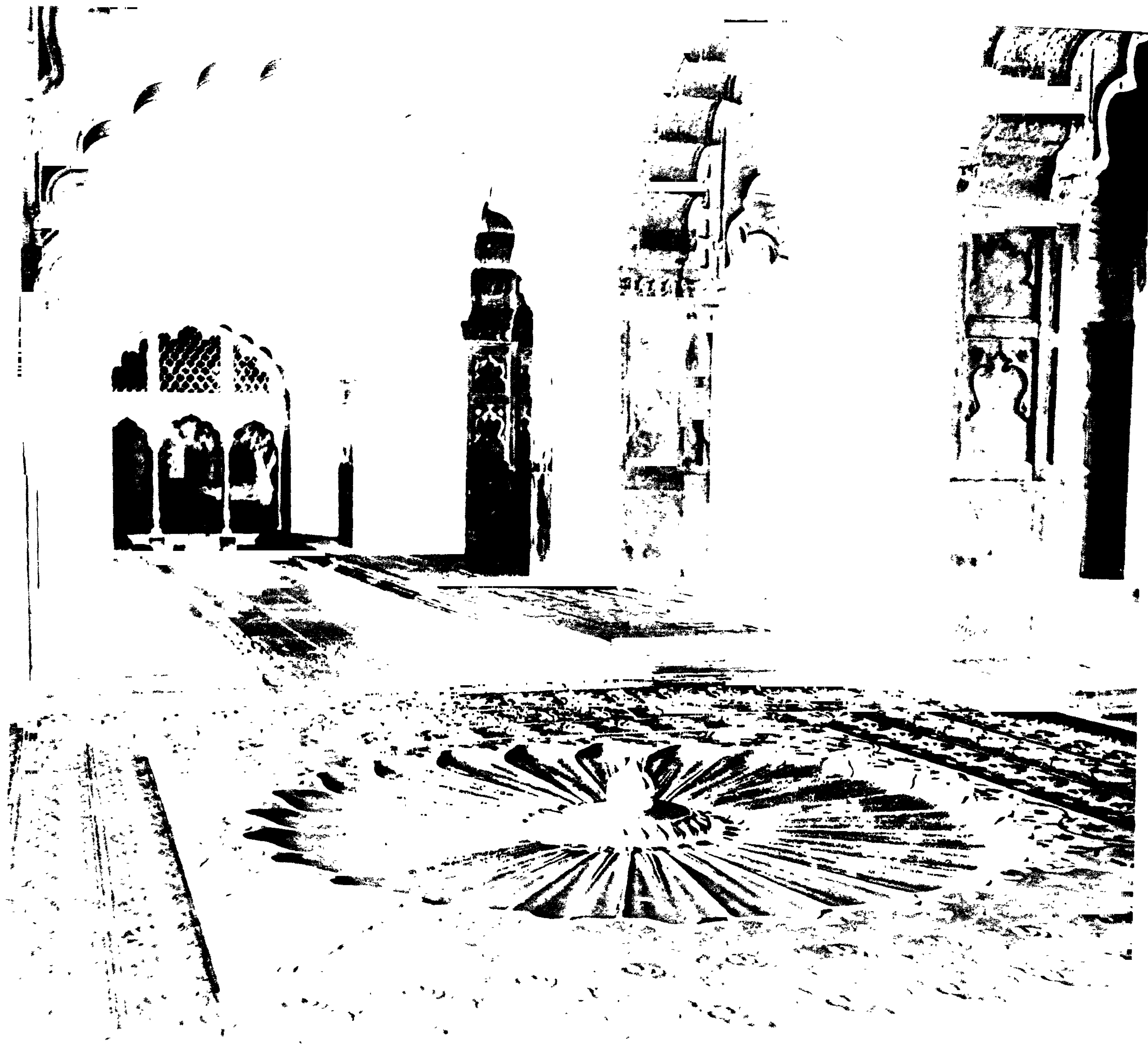


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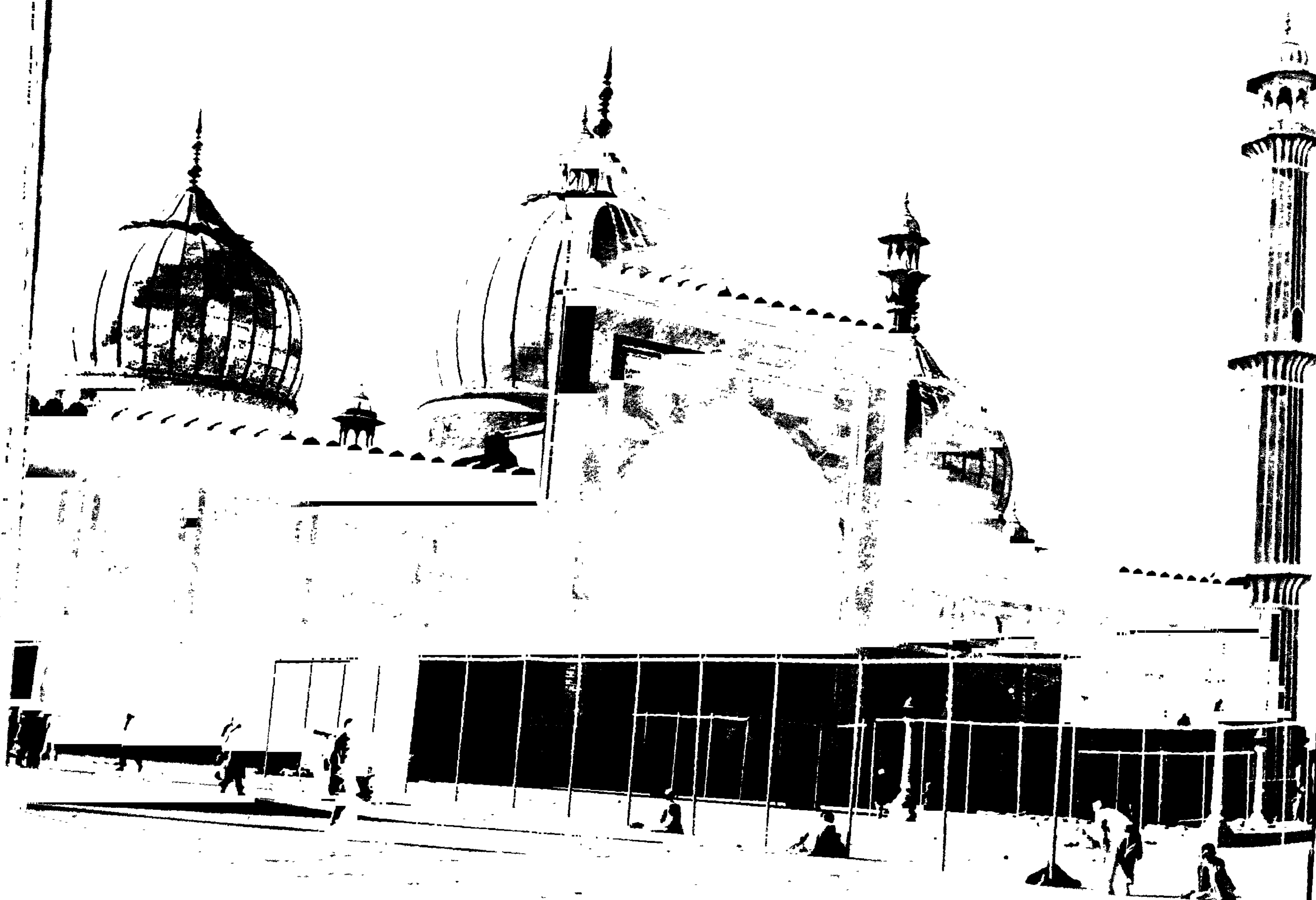


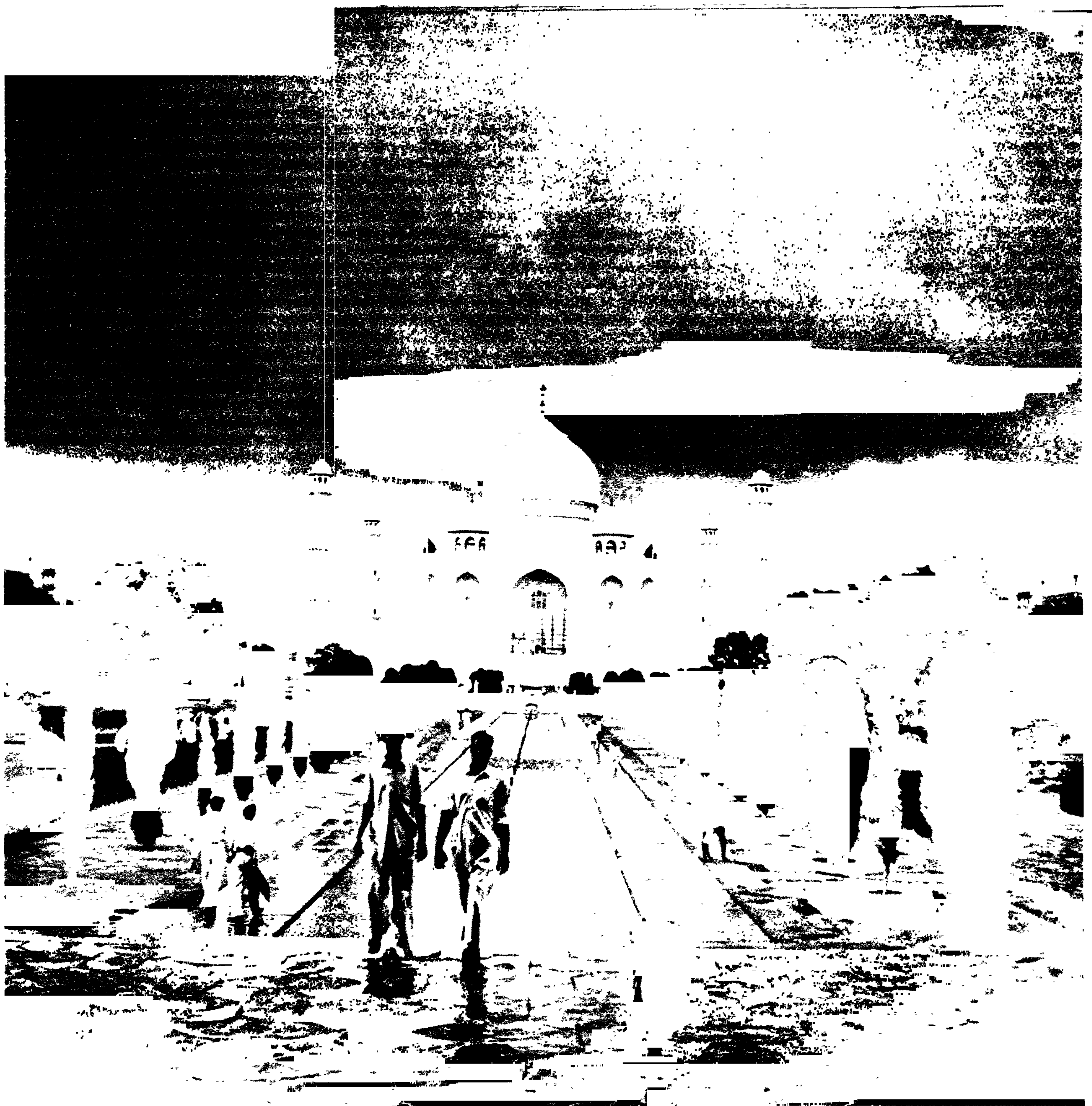
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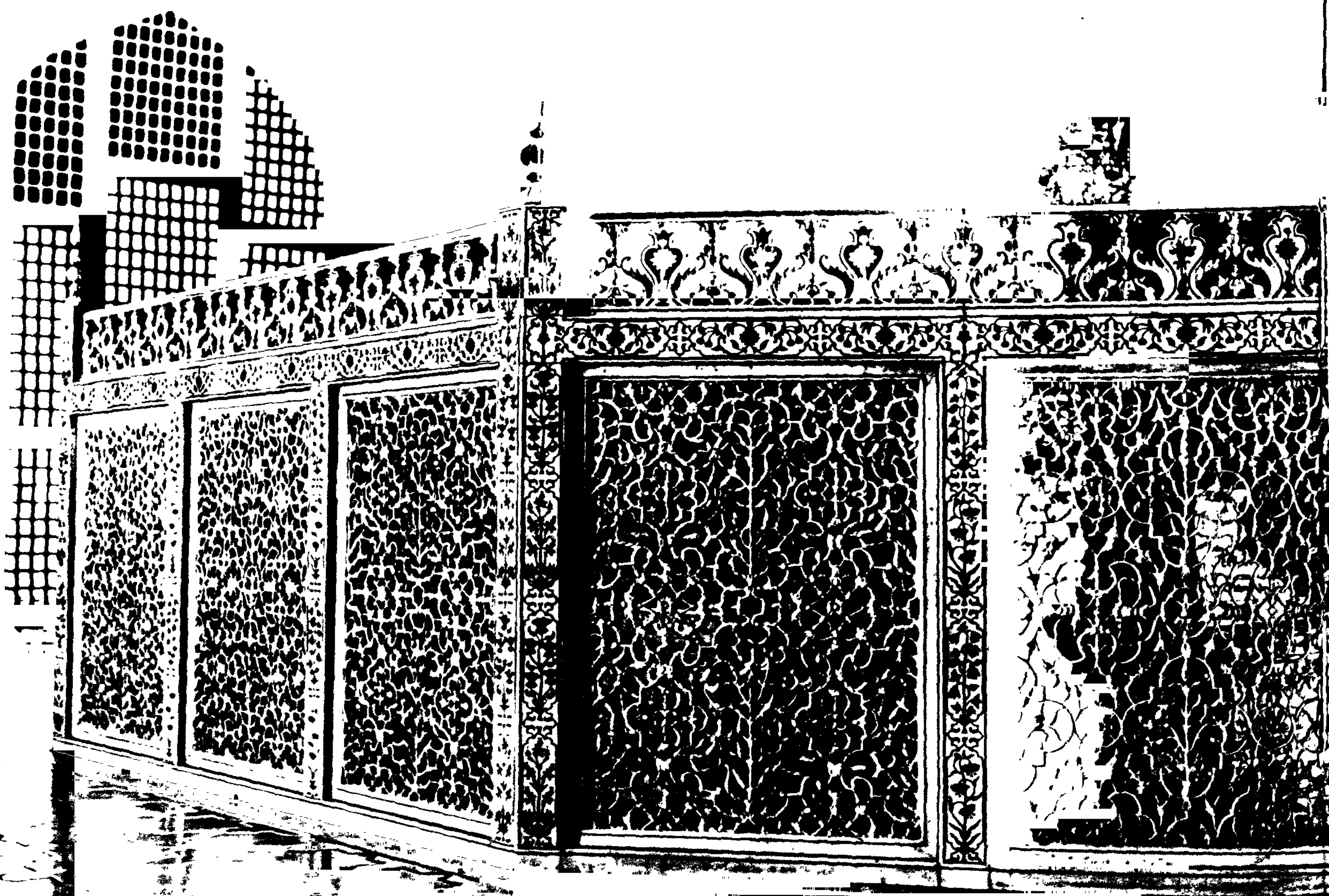


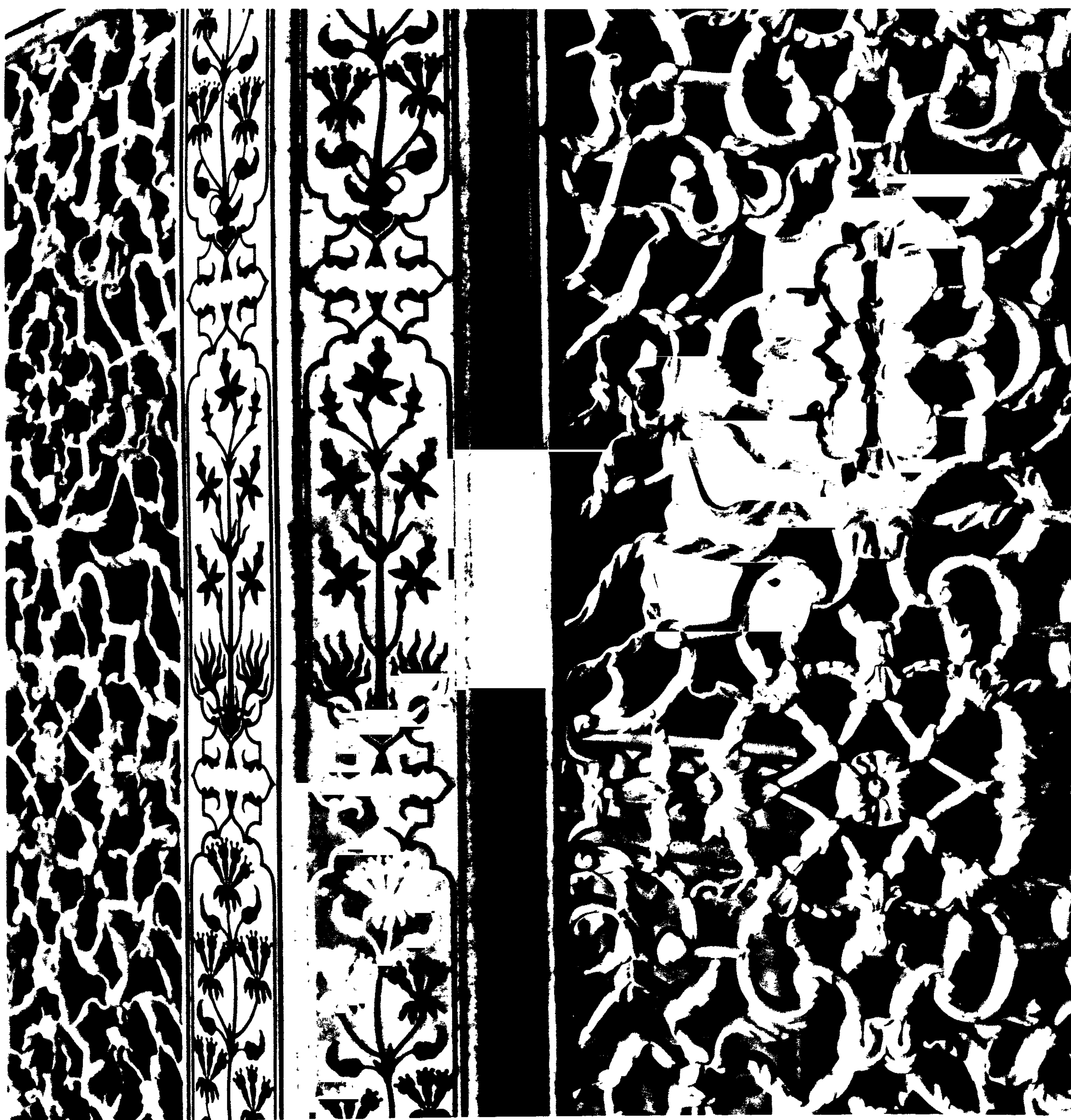
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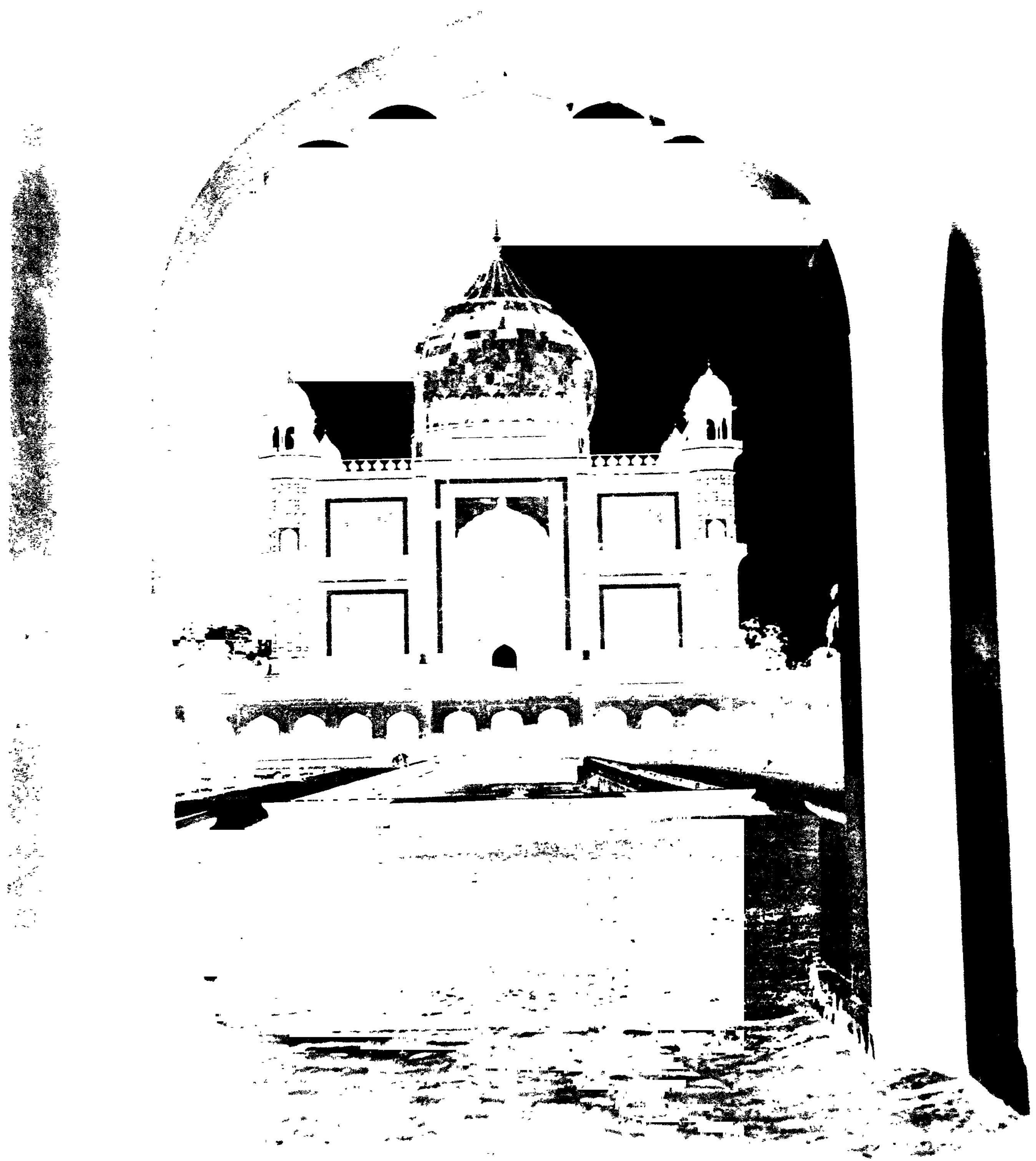


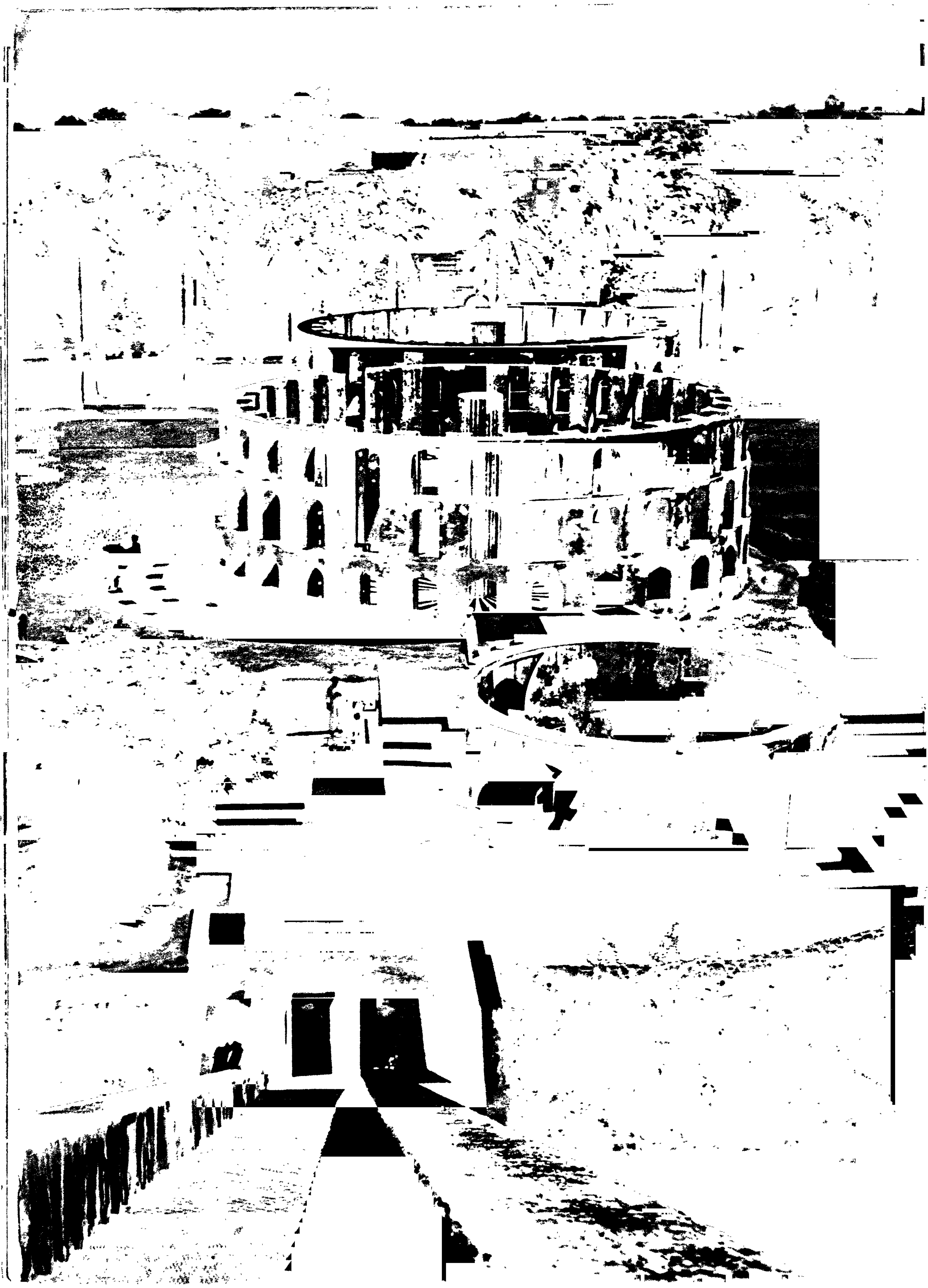
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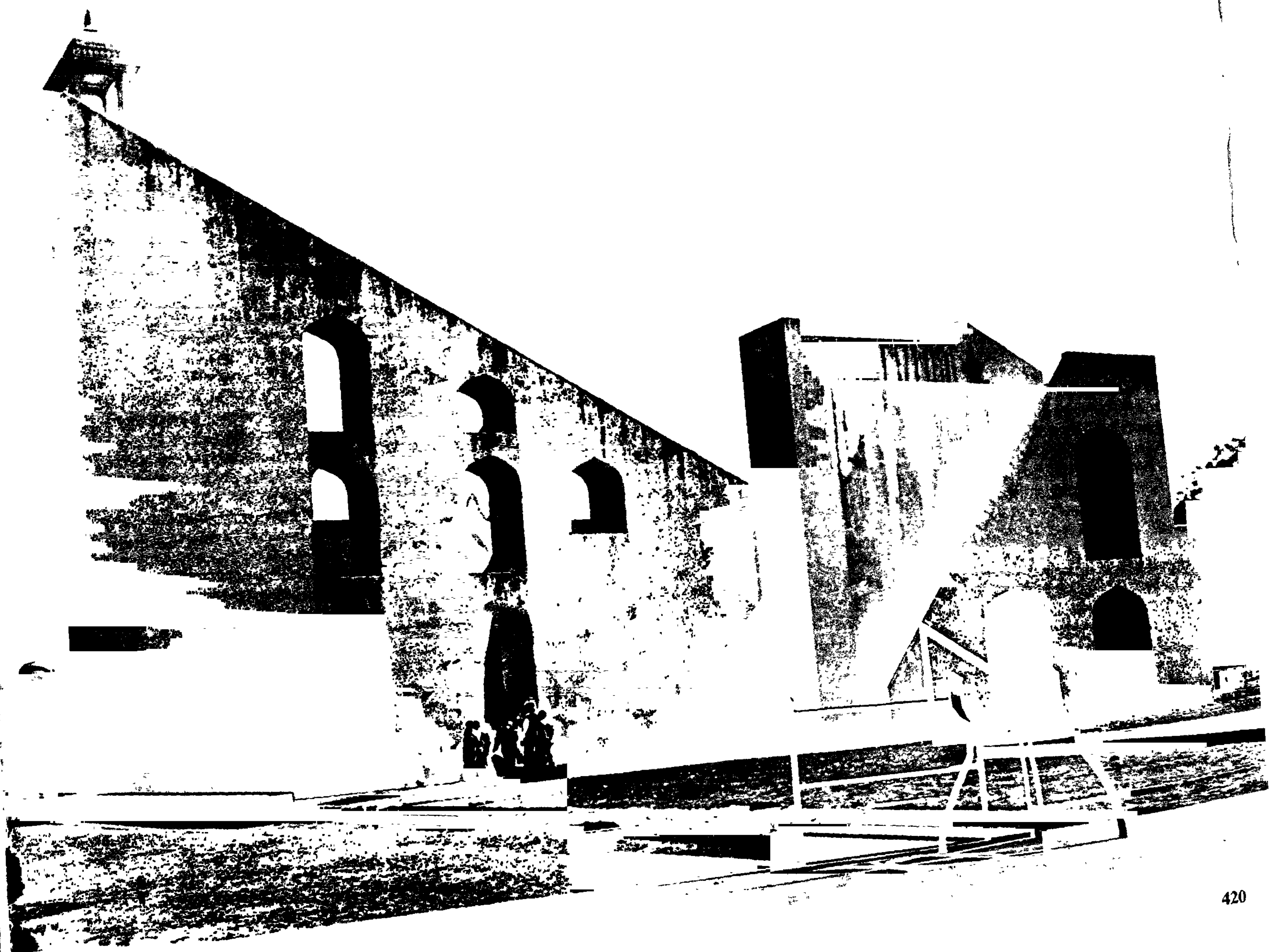
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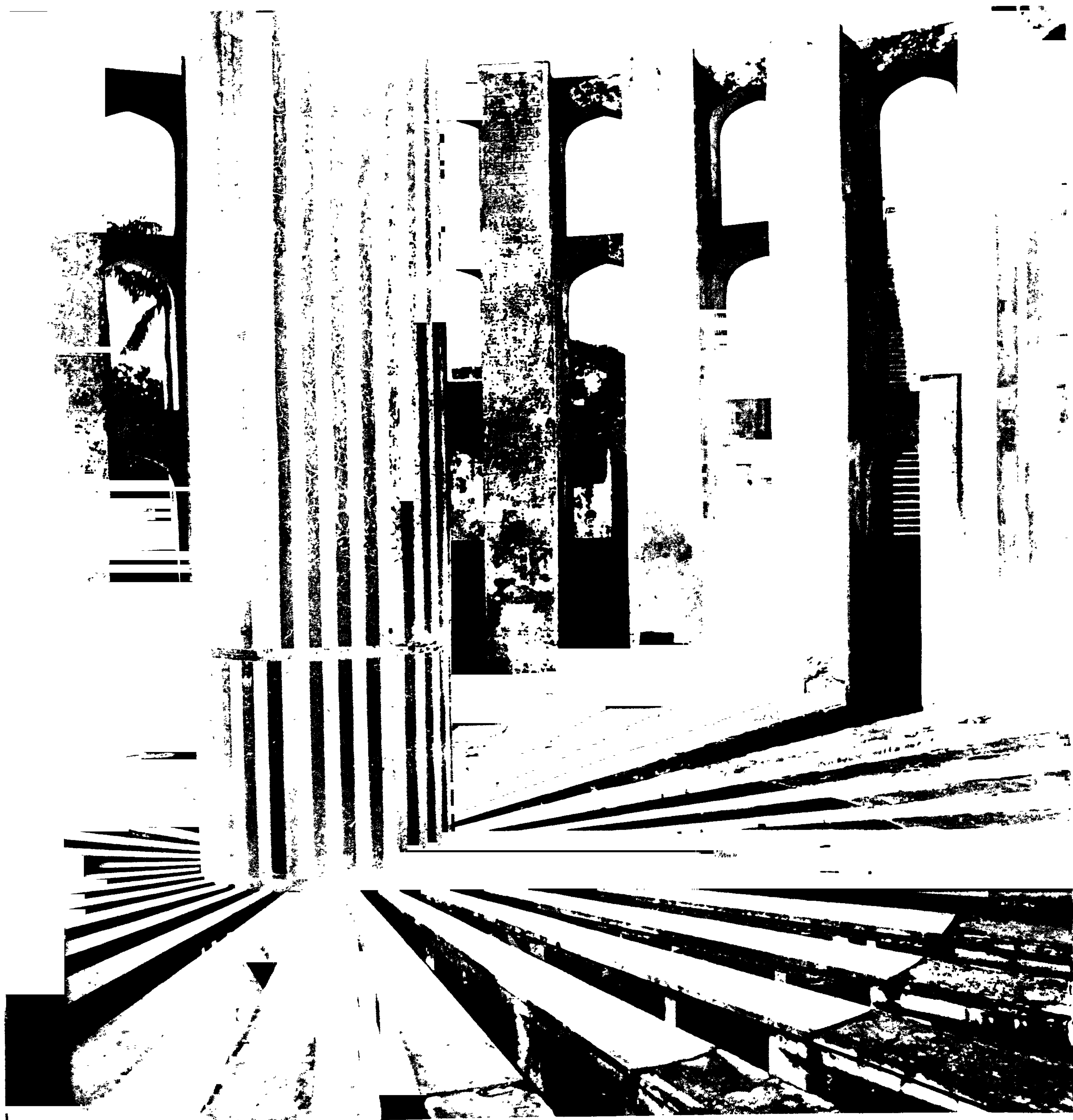




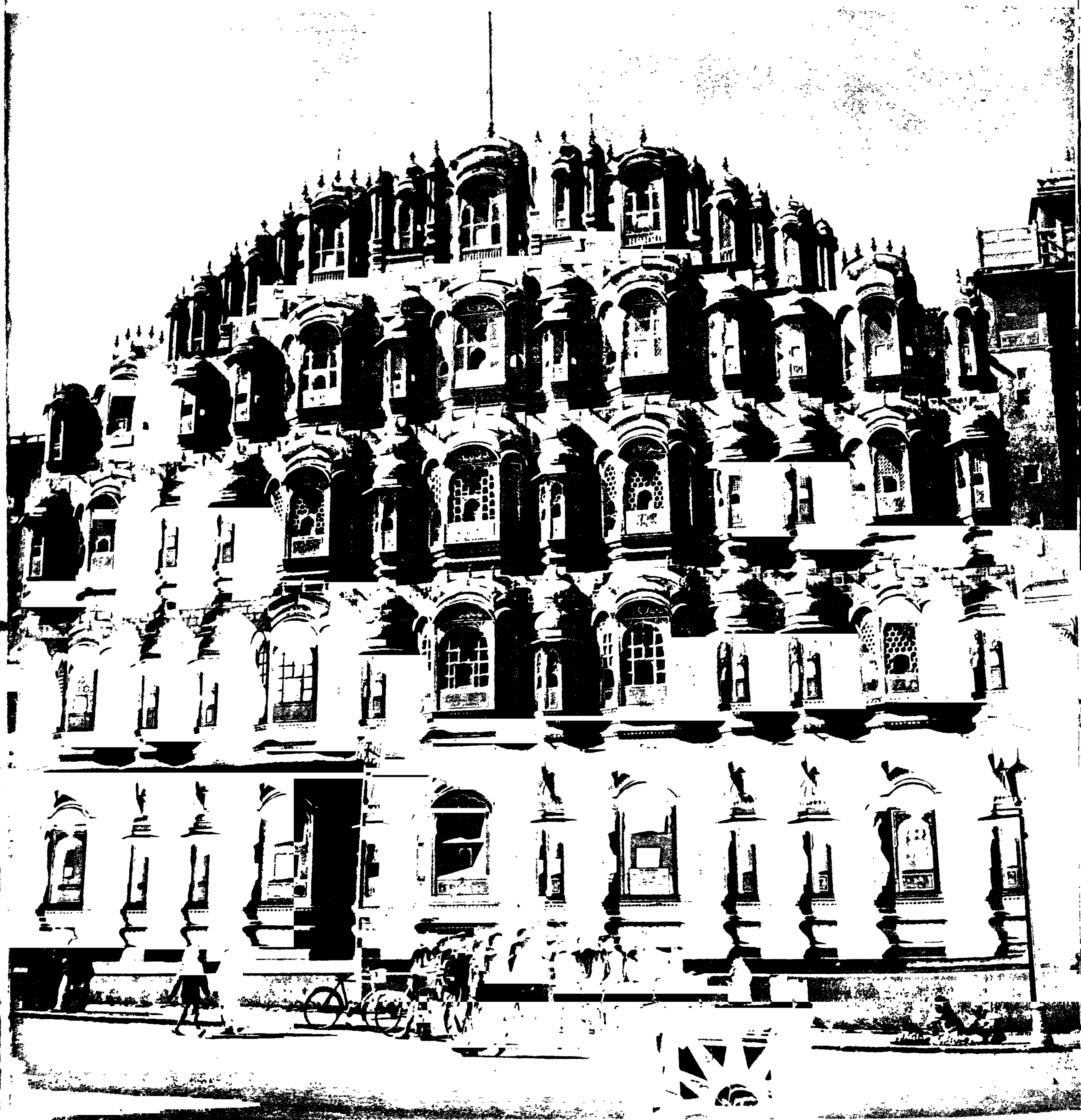
419



420



421



422





424

LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST OF PLATES

PRE-ARYAN ART

INDIAN ART

THE FIRST PERIOD:

THE MAURYA AND SUNGA DYNASTIES

A. THE MAURYA DYNASTY

B. THE SUNGA AND KANVA DYNASTIES

C. THE CAVES

THE SECOND PERIOD:

THE ARTS OF THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

A. GRAECO-BUDDHIST OR GANDHARA ART

B. THE ART OF MATHURA

C. THE ART OF AMARAVATI

THE THIRD PERIOD:

I. THE ART OF THE GUPTA STYLE CAVES

II. POST-GUPTA CAVES

III. STRUCTURAL ARCHITECTURE

IV. POST-GUPTA ART IN THE SOUTH

V. THE ART OF THE CALUKYAN CAPITALS

THE FOURTH PERIOD

I. THE DRAVIDIAN DYNASTIES

A. THE ART OF THE CHOLAS

B. ART UNDER THE PANDYA DYNASTIES

C. ART UNDER THE DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA

D. THE ART OF THE NAYAKA

II. INDO-ARYAN STYLES

A. STYLE OF ORISSA

B. THE ART OF THE CHANDELLAS

C. STYLES OF GWALIOR

D. ART OF RAJASTHAN AND OF THE JAINA CITIES

III. REGIONAL STYLES

A. THE ART OF THE HOYSALA DYNASTIES

B. THE ART OF THE KAKATIYA

IV MISCELLANEOUS STYLES

INDIAN BRONZES

INDO-MUSLIM ART

I. THE PRE-MOGHUL PERIOD

THE ART OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

A. THE SLAVE DYNASTY

C. THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB

D. THE OBSERVATORIES

E. THE TEMPLES OF BUNDELKHAND

LIST OF FIGURES